

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXIII.

1876.

EDITED BY E. LETHBRIDGE, M.A.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA :

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

BOMBAY : MESSRS. THACKER, VINING & CO.

MADRAS : MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.

LONDON : MESSRS. TRUBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW,

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N o. C X X V.

CONTENTS.

ART.		PAGE.
I.	JESSORE. A Report on the District of Jessore : its Antiquities, its History and its Commerce. Second Edition. Revised and corrected. By J. Westland, c.s., Late Magistrate and Collector of Jessore. Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874.	1
II.	OUR COUNTY GAOL	28
III.	MUHAMMAD	10
IV.	THE INDIAN EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY QUESTION	69
V.	THE RENT QUESTION IN BENGAL	88
VI.	THE MIDNAPORE SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDU- CATION	125
VII.	THE EURASIANS OF CEYLON. 1.—A Description of Ceylon, containing an Account of the Country, Inhabitants, and Natural Pro- ductions. By the Rev. James Cordiner, M.A., (London, 1807.) 2.—Ceylon and the Singhalese. By H. C. Sirr, M.A., (London, 1850). 3.—An Account of the Island of Ceylon. By Robert Percival, Esq., of H. M's 19th Regiment of Foot (London, 1803). 4.—Minutes of Evidence (and Appendix) taken by Select Committee of the House of Commons on Ceylon Affairs, 1849-50. 5.—Ceylon Almanac, 1846. 6.—Ceylon Directory, 1873-75. 7.—The Census of Ceylon, taken in 1871. 8.—"Ceylon Observer" Newspaper. 9.—"Ceylon Examiner" Newspaper. 10.—"Madras Mail" Newspaper. 11.—Colombo Friend-in-Need Society's Reports, 1869- 1876. 12.—Our Social Customs ; Lecture by Mr. Advocate Eaton. 13.—Third Annual Report of the Local Government Board (England) 1873-74. 14.—"Encyclopædia Britannica" (new edition, 1876) Vol. I., Art., "Acclimatisation"	173
VIII.	THE STORY OF EPAMINONDAS	207

CRITICAL NOTICES :—

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE :—

- Vignān Rāhasya : Essays on scientific subjects, popularly treated. By Bankim Chandra Chattopādhyāy. Bangadarsan Press : 1875 i
- Udasini. Calcutta : printed by Kali Kinkara Chakravarti at the Valmiki Press. Samvat, 1930 ii
- Ashā-Kānana. By Hem Chandra Baudopadhaya, Calcutta : Ray Press : 1283 B. S. v
- Jati-Mittra, part I. By a Kaviranjana. Calcutta, Puranaprakasa Press : 1282, B.S. vii
- History of the Hindu or Presidency College. By Raj Narayana Basu. Calcutta : Valmiki Press, Saka, 1797. viii
- Gitavali. By the late Payari Mohana Kaviratna. Calcutta : Valmiki Press. Saka, 1798 ib.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE :—

- Mandalay to Momien. A Narrative of the two Expeditions to Western China, of 1868 and 1875, under Colonel Edward B. Sladen and Colonel Horace Browne. By John Anderson, M. D., Edinburgh, F.R.S.E., F.L.S., F.Z.S., Fellow of Calcutta University, Curator of Imperial Museum, and Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Medical College, Calcutta ; Medical and Scientific Officer to both Expeditions. With Maps and Illustrations. London : Macmillan & Co., 1876 ib.
- Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March, 1874. By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London : Smith, Elder & Co., 1876.
- Islam : Its History, Character, and Relation to Chistianity. By John Muehleisen Around, D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Mission Society, Late Her British Majesty's Consular Chaplain, Batavia. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1874.
- Notes on Muhammadanism. By the Rev. T. P. Hughes, C.M.E., Missionary to the Afgans, Peshawur. London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1875 x
- Lahore—Printed at the Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1876 xi
- Sketches of some distinguished Anglo-Indians, with an account of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature. By Colonel W. F. B. Laurie, Retired, Royal (Madras) Artillery ; Author of "Orissa, and the Temple of Jagannāth," "A Narrative of the second Burmese War, &c." London : 1875 ib.
- The Language and Literature of China : Two Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in May and June, 1875. By Robert K. Douglas, of the British Museum, and Professor of Chinese at King's College, London. London : Trübner and Co., 1875 xii

- The Indian Army : Actual Defects and proposed Remedies.**
By C. J. McNALLY, M.D., C.M., Surgeon, Madras Army.
Madras : Higginbotham & Co., 1857 ... xiii
- The History of India from the Earliest Ages.** By J. Talboys Wheeler, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma ; late Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department : Author of the Geography of Herodotus, &c., &c., volume iv., Part I.—Mussulman Rule. London : Trübner & Co., 1876 ... ib.
- Kashmir and Kashgar : A Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashgar, in 1873-74.** By H. W. Bellew, C. S. I., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Staff Corps, Author of "Journal of a Mission to Kandahar, in 1857-58," Grammar and Dictionary of the Pukhto Language," "From the Indus to the Tigris," &c., London : Trübner and Co., 1875 ... xiv
- Marsden's Numismata Orientalia : A New Edition. Part I.—Ancient Indian Weights.** By Edward Thomas, F.R.S., late of the East India Company's Bengal Civil Service. London : Trübner and Co., 1874.
- Marsden's Numismata Orientalia : A New Edition. Part II.—Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans.** By Stanley Lane Poole, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London : Trübner and Co., 1876 ... ib.
- Alexander the Great in the Punjab : From Arrian, Book V. With Notes.** By the Rev. C. E. Moberly, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School. Rivington, London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1875 ... xv
- A Short Introduction to the ordinary Prakrit of the Sanskrit Dramas : With a list of common Irregular Prakrit words.** By E. B. Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, and Hon. LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh. London : Trübner & Co., 1875. ... ib.
- The Vedarthayātṇa : Or An attempt to interpret the Vedas.** Bombay : Indu-Prakāśh Press, 1876. ... ib.
- The Principles of Comparative Philology.** By A. H. Sayce, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford ; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, and of the German Oriental Society. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London : Trübner and Co., 1875 ... xvi
- Religious and Moral Sentiments, metrically rendered from Sanskrit writers : With an Introduction and an Appendix containing exact translations in prose.** By J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. London : Williams and Norgate, 1875 ... ib.
- Tamil Wisdom : Traditions concerning Hindu Sages, and selections from their writings.** By Edward Jewitt Robinson. With an Introduction by the late Rev. Elijah Hoole, D.D. London : Wesleyan Conference Office, 1873 ... xvii

The Indian Student's Manual. By J. Murdoch, LL.D. Madras, 1875	... ..	xvii
English Gipsev Songs. In Rommany, with MetricAl English translations. By Charles S. Leland, Professor E. H. Palmer, and Janet Tuckey. London: Tribner and Co., 1875	... ..	<i>ib.</i>
A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields. By Toru Dutt. Bhowanipore, 1876	... ..	xix
A Manual of Indian Cattle and Sheep; their Breeds, Management, and Diseases. By John Shortt, M.D., v s., F.L.S., F.Z.S., &c., Surgeon-Major, Madras Medical Depart- ment. Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1876	... ..	<i>ib.</i>
Currency, Exchange and Bullion: Considered with reference to the present crisis in the value of Silver. By T. Cave Winscom, Deputy-Collector of Coimbatore, Late Manager of the Bank of Madras, Cochin, and Royal Bank of India, Mauritius, and Calcutta. Madras: Hig- ginbotham & Co., 1876	... ..	<i>ib</i>
Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. III,— Parts I. and II. Yokohama: Japan Mail Office, 1875...	... ..	xx
Islam under the Arabs: By Robert Durie Osborn, Major in the Bengal Staff Corps. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1876	... ..	xxi

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CXXV.

ART. I.—JESSORE.

A Report on the District of Jessore ; its Antiquities, its History and its Commerce. Second Edition. Revised and corrected.
• By J. Westland, C.S., Late Magistrate and Collector of Jessore. Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Press, 1874.

WE believe Mr. Westland was the very first member of the Bengal Civil Service to present us with a District Manual, the first edition of which made its appearance in 1870 ; and the good example set by him has been followed successively by Mr. Oldham in Gházipur, Mr. Toynbee in Orisá, Mr. Williams in Dehra Dún and Mr. Glazier in Rangpúr. All such works are of great utility ; and we hope they may increase in number until every district, throughout the length and breadth of British India is provided with a similar useful work. The fact that the first edition of Mr. Westland's report has been exhausted within so short a space of time, and a second edition already rendered necessary, conclusively proves that that gentleman's labours have been duly appreciated by the public. Mr. Westland performed his laborious and arduous task so well and carefully, that the first edition of his work contained, we were rather surprised to find, only a few errors ; but in the second edition, we regret to have to point out, that most of those errors have been perpetuated, albeit stated to be " revised and corrected." This is, however, probably owing, in a great measure, to his having in the interim left, not only the district, but also the Lower Provinces altogether. We purpose noticing, in the course of our article, all the errors we are able to detect, however small they may be ; not any wise in a cavilling or hypercritical spirit, but simply because Mr. Westland's work, being universally reckoned an authority, and rightly so, on matters pertaining to the district, ought to be freed as much as possible from all mistakes and inaccuracies that have in any way crept into it ; and it is, we consider, the bounden duty of those who are able to discover any error, to contribute towards this most desirable result. Hence, we trust, we shall escape the charge of capriciousness in so doing ; and it is certainly far from our intention

to depreciate a work from which we have, we candidly confess, derived a vast deal of local information on various subjects, and we by no means under-estimate its intrinsic worth.

Mr. Westland has divided his voluminous report, which extends to nearly two hundred and fifty pages, into half-a-dozen parts, thus :—"Part I.—Geographical. Part II.—Antiquities. Part III.—The first thirty years of British Administration. Part IV., "Landed Property. Part V.—Agriculture and Commerce. Part "VI.—Gazetteer." Besides this, there is an appendix, containing some statistical information regarding population, agriculture, revenue and commerce. We shall notice the subjects treated of by Mr. Westland *seriatim*, but our present article will be confined to a review of only the first two parts.

The general features of the district are faithfully depicted as a "plain intersected by rivers;" and accurately divided into three parts, denominated, respectively, northern, central, and southern. The *first* is described as high land, with sandy soil, and the rivers watering it beyond the tidal range. The *second* is swampy land, composed almost entirely of *bils* or marshes, and the rivers therein within tidal influence. The *third* is low land, which forms the Sundarban portion of the district, and its surface is generally below high-water level, but the rise of tide, we must add, varies considerably on the western and eastern sides of the Gangetic Delta, for the greatest rise in the former, in the Húglí at Calcutta, has been ascertained to be but 23 feet 4 inches, whereas in the latter it has reached, it is said, over eighty feet! The rainfall too, in this tract differs very considerably, for, whereas at Sagar Island the average annual fall is only inches 82·29, in the Báqir-ganj District it is stated to be "from 200 to 300 inches in the year."* The average annual rainfall in Jessore is, according to Mr. Blanford's elaborate table, inches 66·41, distributed throughout the year thus :—

1.—January, inches	...	...	...	0·23
2.—February	"	...	...	0·56
3.—March	"	...	...	1·82
4.—April	"	...	...	4·50
5.—May	"	...	...	7·27
6.—June	"	...	...	13·42
7.—July	"	...	...	10·98
8.—August	"	...	...	10·91
9.—September	"	...	...	9·52
10.—October	"	...	...	6·39
11.—November	"	...	...	0·80
12.—December	"	...	...	0·01

* *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxxix, p. 209.

The physical aspects of each of the three several divisions are also, of course, very different. The *upper* portion is stated to be well-wooded in some parts with numerous kinds of trees, especially that useful species of the palm genus, rich in saccharine sap, known to us as the date, and called by the natives the *khajur*, (*Phoenix sylvestris*, Roxburgh): in other parts, the extensive fields, *aus* paddy, the rice crop gathered in autumn, is cultivated, and in the cold weather the several sorts of pulses, such as *lhesári*, *kállái*, and peas. In the *central* portion paddy is almost exclusively cultivated,* and the villages, situated on the margin of the rivers, are covered with trees of various descriptions, and here those useful members of the grass family (*Bambusa*, Schreb) flourish in extreme luxuriance. In the *lower* portion rice is the only crop cultivated, and the houses of the few inhabitants located therein—for it is sparsely populated—are far apart from one another, and built entirely on the banks of rivers and *kháls*, where the ground is rather higher than in the interior, as usual in recent alluvial formations. These are the Sundarban clearances. All the rest of it is clad with almost impenetrable jungle, composed for the most part of that species of bullrush, wrongly designated by us elephant-grass, known to the natives as *hoglá* (*Typha elephantina*, Roxburgh), the so-called nipa palm, or *gol-pátá*, (*Nipa fruticans*, Willdenow), the well-known *nals*, reed, (*Arundo Karika*, Linnæus), &c., and dense forests, comprising such trees as the two species of *sundari*, (*Heritiera minor*, Roxburgh et *H. littoralis*, Willdenow), the *keaurá*, (*Sonneratia apetella*, Buchanan), the *gáb*, (*Diospyros glutinosa*, König), the *garán*, (*Ceriops Roxburghianus*, Arn.), the *blorá* (*Rhizophora mucronata*, Lamarck), and numerous others. In these wilds, where the foot of man never treads, except that of the adventurous wood-cutter or daring *shikári*, roam those superior mammals, the fierce tiger, (*Felis tigris*, Linnæus), the gigantic buffalo, (*Bubalus arni*, Hodgson), the stupendous rhinoceros (*R. sondaicus*,† Müller), the surly boar (*Sus indicus*, Schiny), and four members of the cervine group, the swamp deer, or *bárásinghá* (*Rucervus Duvaucelli*, Blyth), the spotted deer (*Axis maculatus*, Gray), the hog-deer (*Axis porcinus*, Blyth), and the barking deer (*Cervulus aureus*, Hamilton Smith).

We find that Mr. Westland has not alluded to certain physical

* The marshes, or *bils*, in the cold season teem with numberless species of wild fowl, from the ponderous and sombre-hued grey goose (*Anser cineratus*, Meyer), to the light and bright-plumaged blue-winged teal, (*Querquedula circiá*, Linn.)

† The above scientific designation

has been assigned to it by naturalists on the supposition that it is identical with the Javanese rhinoceros, but this we think extremely doubtful for various reasons, which it would be premature to here state; we consider the Sundarban animal to be a new and distinct species.

phenomena heard in the district of Jessore, as well as in the adjoining district of Báqirganj, and generally known as the 'Barisál Guns.' They are so called, because, probably, they are more distinctly heard, or rather, more especially noticed in that station than elsewhere.

In 1870, we brought the subject prominently to the notice of Mr. Henry F. Blanford, then Meteorological Reporter for Bengal. in a letter under date the 25th June of that year; and as that letter describes the phenomena, we may as well quote it *in extenso* :—

"I have the honour to bring to your notice the occurrence in the districts of Báqirganj and Jessore, and even as far north as Faridpúr, I believe, periodically during the prevalence of the S. W. Monsoon and rainy season, of certain peculiar noises from the south and south-east directions, or sea-board, resembling the report of caunons or loud explosions, usually heard distinctly after a *heavy fall of rain*, or *cessation of a squall*, generally whilst the tide is rising, and to solicit your being good enough to investigate this physical phenomenon with the view of discovering the cause thereof, as there most decidedly exists a profound ignorance on the subject, and more particularly as it may prove of some interest to scientific research.

"In the *Englishman* newspaper, a correspondent writing under the signature of *Barisál*, has lately noticed these singular noises, as you may have casually observed, with the avowed intention of obtaining an authoritative explanation of it; but judging from the futile efforts of numerous similar attempts previously made, I do not think he is likely to meet with any success, which is my only excuse for troubling you on the subject, though it is hardly needed, as I venture to think you will be sufficiently interested in the inquiry to enter into it *con amore*."

Mr. Blanford then wrote and suggested to us that the letter might be read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, with the view of getting the subject fully discussed; and we gladly acquiescing in the suggestion, it was duly read, when a discussion followed, which was reported in *Proceedings, Asiatic Society, B.*, for August 1870. We do not think it necessary to reproduce the discussion as there given; and an epitome of it will, we think, amply suffice for the present purpose.

The President, the Hon'ble J. B. Phear, invited the members present to express their opinions on the subject, and attributed the sounds "to breakers on the sea-coast," remarking that similar phenomena were met with in Devonshire and Cornwall, and were due to the same cause.

Mr. Westland, the author of the report under review, bore testimony to the actual occurrence of the phenomena, but disagreed with the preceding speaker as to the origin of the sounds.

Mr. Dall mentioned several explanations he had heard regarding

the cause of the phenomena, one of which was that they were ascribed "to explosive gases stirred by some sort of volcanic action."

Mr. Blanford agreed with the President regarding the explanation he had given of the cause of the phenomena, and which had been suggested previously by Mr. Fleetwood H. Pellew, (*Journal, Asiatic Society, B.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 133.) He, Mr. Blanford, considered that "the conditions under which the "sounds were heard, were all such as to point to the breaking "of the surf as their cause", but "to clear up every supposed "difficulty, much closer observation was doubtless required than "had hitherto been given to the matter."

Mr. Westland again spoke, and at some length, against what may be designated the "surf theory." He argued that, "if they "are produced by the breaking of surf, it is clear that to produce a "sound loud enough to be heard so well over a long distance, it "will require, not the breaking of a wave at any point, but the "breaking of waves over a considerable extent of country."

Baboo Rajendralála Mitrá also spoke in disapproval of the surf-breaking hypothesis, reasoning from analogy that "the Deltas "of the Iráwadí, the Mahánadi, the Danube, the Mississippi and "the Amazon, had similar estuaries, but they did not produce "the 'Barisal Guns.'"

Both Mr. Blanford and the President again spoke in favour of their views; and the latter adduced, as an instance in support of their contention, that on "some occasions, the sounds of firing at Sheerness "or elsewhere in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Thames, "reached the same place"—"part of Suffolk, with which he was "familiar."—"and must have traversed not less than fifty miles." "But" he added, "the matter should not be left to conjecture," and a little careful observation ought to suffice "to clear it up."

In *Proceedings, Asiatic Society, B.*, for November 1870, appeared a letter from Mr. Fleetwood H. Pellew, C.S., giving an explanation of the surf-theory advanced by him, thus:—

"In regard to the 'Barisal Guns,' my notion was that waves "of a length of a mile or two each, advancing obliquely from the "S. S. W. would break successively on the coast from W. to E. "To a person close by, the sound of each wave would be some- "what continuous, but to a person 40 to 50 miles off, if the wave "broke simultaneously, the sound would be a boom like that of "a gun, because both extremities of the wave would be nearly at "the same distance from the hearer as the centre.

"I have at Puri, when the S. W. Monsoon has lulled, seen "far to the south a very lofty wave break with a distinct booming "noise, a second or two after another nearer, then one opposite "to me, and then others towards the north as far as one could "see. Even to one standing on the beach, the noise of these.

“ waves (except the nearest) was so like that of guns, that we used to remark on the resemblance. When the wind was blowing strongly, the wave was turned over by the force of it before it attained its full height, but when there was no wind or a slight breeze from the shore, whilst the swell was still high from the effects of the monsoon, this phenomenon often occurred, the wave rising to an immense height and breaking over a mile or two of beach at one moment.

“ I may remark that the wind blows very obliquely on to the Puri coast, and would not take the sound so far inland as at Báqirganj.

“ The great difficulty of the ‘ Barisal Guns ’ arose from the fact that the Musalmans at Perijpúr and round the Kochá river, celebrating their marriages chiefly in September, always fire off earthen bombshells, and it is almost impossible to tell the sound of these from the ‘ Barisal Guns.’ I should never have believed in them at all, if I had not once, when in the Saplenja river in the Sundarban, with nothing but forest to the south, heard them distinctly on four or five different occasions in one night. Of course, we may have been mistaken, but the sound to our senses was undoubtedly from the south, and much louder than I ever heard it before. It woke me up from sleep; we were then about thirty miles from the coast.”

In the same issue of the Proceedings, there also appeared a letter from us on the subject, stating that :—

“ One incident, and a prominent one too, I have, I find, inadvertently omitted to mention in my last letter, which is, that the directions of the sounds appear to travel invariably along the course of the streams that discharge themselves into the Bay. This circumstance I have carefully observed for a series of years, and hence I indicated the noises as coming from the sea-board, e.g., the sub-division of Khulná is situate on the confluence of the rivers Bhairab and Rupsáhá (the latter a local name for the continuation of the Pasar), which run, respectively, N. and E. of it, and when I was residing there, I noticed that the sounds appeared to come from the S. E., whilst now that I am living across the Rupsáhá, on the east of it, the noises are heard from the S. W. Again, I lived for about a year at a place called Nálí, *alias* Schillerganj, on the Balishwar river, and to the east of it, when the detonations, for such I may call them, were distinctly heard from the S. W. No European has, I believe, resided lower down the Balishwar river in the Sundarban than Schillerganj, which is distant about a tide only from the open sea, and the sounds heard by me there were decidedly louder than those I hear here, while below that place, and I have heard them very close to the sea, as far down the Haringhátá river as a boat could well venture

"out during the S. W. Monsoon, they were the loudest I have heard ; but the reports were quite as distinct there from one another as they were elsewhere, which would not go to bear out the surf theory or hypothesis originally propounded by Mr. Pellew, and which appears to have found much favor."

After that no further discussion appears to have taken place ; but in 1871, we received a number of printed forms for recording observations on the "Barisal Guns," from the Secretary of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and we duly distributed, several of them to various gentlemen, who were stationed in places where they could note down their observations on the phenomena ; but we regret to have to add, that though some of them were good enough to promise to do so, yet we did not receive a single return from any one of them. As the form will be useful to those desirous of entering their observations on the "Barisal Guns," we give it as it was supplied to us :—

Observations on the "Barisal Guns."

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Place of observation. 2. Date and time. 3. Direction from which the sounds appear to come. 4. Direction of the wind. 5. Anything which seems to mark the duration of the sound, such as whether it is sudden or prolonged ; the interval at which it is repeated ; total duration of the sound, and so on. 6. State of the weather at the time of observation. 7. State of the weather during the previous 24 hours. 8. Any other fact as strikes the observer as important. | | | |
|--|--|--|--|

To the above form was appended the following :

NOTE.—"In the spaces for remarks it is requested that the information may be given as to the interval between the reports, and whether these intervals are equal or otherwise ; the nature of the sound ; the direction of the wind ; whether the sky is cloudy. Also the height of station above ground, and if surrounded with trees, &c.

"The form should be filled as early as possible, while the recollection is fresh. If the reports are frequent a watch might be placed on the table and the time of each occurrence noted."

We may here, we think, fittingly allude to those terrible atmospheric disturbances, known as rotary storms or cyclones, as appropriately designated by Piddington. They occur in the district periodically at uncertain intervals, but generally at the beginning

or close of the South-West Monsoon. Considerable damage to houses and boats is occasioned by them, as well as loss of human life; and when accompanied by storm-waves, the rice crops in the low lands, more especially in the Sundarban tract, suffer to a great extent.

Regarding the geology of the district, Mr. Westland has given us no information whatsoever; so we may here very briefly state that the disposition and nature of the strata of the Gangetic Delta at various depths below the surface of the ground,* from, say, 20 to 395 feet, is composed of "drift wood, carbonaceous and peat beds," indicating the gradual sinking of the surface. From 400 to 481 feet, the greatest depth attained, a bed of coarse conglomerate was discovered, which induced Dr. McClelland to infer that, when these deposits were formed, rocky mountains were in existence not far north of the Delta, which suddenly sank, owing probably to the occurrence of some violent seismic phenomenon, such as the earthquake at Chatgaon (Chittagong) of 1762, when a range of mountains sank below the level of the surface, and the sea passed over the space they occupied. It is supposed that this conglomerate was deposited on a marshy surface "clothed with vegetation," and that it "is underlaid by the solid rock," referred to above: *vide Cal. Jour. Nat. Hist.* vol. ii, *et Jour. As. Soc., B.*, vol. ix.

Mr. Westland next proceeds to give us his ideas of the river system and its changes; and shows pretty clearly that the rivers formerly, over a century ago, used to run from the N. W. of the district, and that they now flow from the N. E. This is, we may shortly state, simply owing to the lower course of the Ganges having shifted from the former direction to the latter,† and that is all that need be said on this head.

A short dissertation on the Deltaic formation concludes Part I, and the theory advanced by Mr. Westland to account for it, is, to say the least, insufficient, and on the whole erroneous. He explains the phenomenon by stating that the annual inundations leave deposits on the surface of the country submerged, which raises its level and creates new land. Now, this process of land building is altogether too tardy to satisfactorily account for the comparatively rapid formation of Deltaic land. The main cause

* The superficial soil, which reaches to a depth of about ten feet, has below it a thick bed of clay, and water can hardly percolate through it. Dr. McClelland graphically describes these characteristics in his *Topography of Bengal*, thus: "Without the surface soil Lower Bengal would be a swamp, and without the underlying clay, a desert."

† Dr. Oldham has fully demonstrated that the tendency of the course of the rivers is again westward, owing to the main outlet of the waters of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, which now flow down to the sea as the Megna, being obstructed in its further progress eastward by the Tiparah hills. *Vide Pro. As. Soc., B.*, 1870.

of Deltaic formation, it is well known, is attributable to the various streams depositing the silt and sand they hold in suspension in their waters *on their own beds*, which gradually raise them above the level of the adjacent plains, and cause the streams to change their channels, inasmuch as it is physically impossible for any piece of water to continue flowing on the summit of a raised embankment, as it were, without some artificial means being employed to compel it to do so. Thus new channels are successively opened, and fresh deposits formed, until the entire surface of the country is raised to one uniform level, when Deltaic action may be said to cease.

We may also here, we think, fittingly explain the drainage system of alluvial formations. Ordinarily, in undulating tracts of country, the water spreads from an elevated central point to the surrounding parts. But it is entirely the reverse of the case in low Deltaic land, for in such places the water from the surrounding parts is found to flow to a depressed central point, owing to the edges being raised by the deposit of *detritus* borne by the rivers. The former may be appropriately termed the centrifugal system of drainage, and the latter the centripetal system of drainage: in the one the water flows outward, and in the other inward.

Under the head of Antiquities, we have most valuable and interesting information regarding several ruins more or less known in the district. The first and oldest of them are those of Khán Jahán Aḥ, commonly called Khánjāli, situate in the Bagherhāt Division, within the Parganah of Khahfatābād, or rather Hawelí. Khahfatābād, "the vicegerent's clearance," as Mr. Blochmann describes it, is mentioned by name in Abulfazl's *Ain-i-Akbarí*. A plan of the largest building there is given, called by Mr. Westland and others, and doubtless by the people of the locality, the *Satgumbaz*, or "sixty domes," which is an obvious misnomer, for an edifice having in reality seventy-seven domes, and its correct designation must be *Sachhattargumbaz*, or "seventy-seven domes," corrupted in the course of time by the vulgar to *Sathgumbaz*, and thence *Satgumbaz*. The facade of the building faces the east, and has one large central door, with five smaller doors on each side, in all eleven doors, opening into an immense hall, which, according to Bábu Gaurdása Basáka,* is 144 × 96 feet. The structure is supported by sixty pillars,† arranged in ten rows of six pillars in each row, and they are composed of grey-stone encased in brick. Tradition states that this extensive room was used as a place of worship as well as business. Above each of the door-ways we find five circles arranged thus %%, and we are tempted to ask, were these circles

* *Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S.*, vol. xxxvi. designation *Satgumbaz* originated in ignorant people confounding "domes" with "pillars."

† It is just possible that the

merely placed in the way of ornamentation, or were they meant to signify aught? We are inclined to think that there must have been some signification attached to them. No. 12 of Laidley's Plate of Bengal coins, (*vide Jour. As. Soc., B.*, vol. xv.) has five circles with the name of the reigning King, Mahmúd Sháh Assultán, (the twelfth King of Bengal,) who ruled Bengal from A. H. 846 to 864, and who was, therefore, on the throne during the latter portion of the life-time of Khán Jahán Alí. The five circles, or rings, were probably, intended to represent the arms of the reigning monarch. *En passant*, the arms of Timur, were three circles or rings, placed one above and two below, in this way—°°.

The tomb of Khán Jahán Alí is placed within a mosque, the exterior of which represents a square, but the interior is octangular, surmounted with a dome of the full size of the structure, which is said to be 45 feet square, and its height to the summit 47 feet. The tomb-stone is about 6 feet long, and covered with Arabic and Persian inscriptions in relief, * as well as two out of three steps on which it is raised. The flooring of the mosque is paved with hexagonal encaustic tiles; but a good many have been taken out and carried away by different people at various times. Mr. Westland has furnished us with transcripts of five of the inscriptions on the tomb, four of which are Arabic and one Persian, and given translations of all of them. From these we gather that the tomb is that of Alagh Khán Jahán Alí, who is described as "a friend of the descendants of the chief of all the prophets, a sincere well-wisher to the learned, and the hater of the infidels," who "left this world for a better one on the night of Wednesday, 26th "Zél Hijja," which corresponds with the 24th October, 1459 A. D.; and therefore Mr. Westland is in error when he states that, the Khán's demise occurred in 1458 A. D.; and Bábu Gaurdása Basáka, too, for he states that it was "about the end of March, or beginning of April, A. D. 1458," *vide Jour. As. Soc., B.*, vol. xxxvi. Close to this building, and to the north of it, is the tomb of Khán Jahán's intimate friend and favorite Dewan, Muhammad Tahir, who is reputed to have been a high caste Bráhmaṇ before he embraced Moslemism, and who is commonly known as Pír Alí. †

Besides the minor buildings erected by Khán Jahán, we find a large tank, said to have been excavated by him, in which are,

* Mr. Westland appears to be right in stating that the inscriptions are not in gilt letters, nor is there any white marble about the tomb, as erroneously represented by Lábu Gaurdása Basáka.

† Bábu Gaurdása Basáka says, that one of the ancestors of the well-known and highly respected Thákur family

of Calcutta, is said to have been associated with this man, and on that account they are dubbed Pír Alís; but I am rather inclined to agree with Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitra, who considered them to be thus designated because they intermarried with the Kayastha family of the Rájás of Jessore.

Mr. Westland says, eight tame alligators, but he, of course, means crocodiles,* and these are said to be offsprings of the two crocodiles—we cannot agree to call them alligators—kept by Khán Jahán, and designated *Dhalápar* and *Kálápar*, signifying respectively “white side” and “black side.” These crocodiles readily come at the call of the *Fákir* and take the meat offered to them. They are pretty well fed by native married women, who desire to be in that interesting condition that ladies who love their lords are said to wish to be in; for, strange to say, crocodile’s blessings, more potent than crocodile’s tears, are reputed to ensure children to their liberal donors. We are at a loss to account for the esteem, nay, veneration, with which crocodiles are regarded by Muhammadans, for we read that, in Panduah, a railway station between Húglí and Bardwán, there is, or was, a *Fákir* who had tame crocodiles in a tank, and that on calling one of them by name, Fatek Khán, it obeyed the summons and appeared on the surface, *vide Cal. Rev.*, vol. xxi, p. 183. Again, in Von Orlich’s *Travels*, there is mentioned a tank near Karáchi, where he saw a score and ten crocodiles issue out of the water, and, at the direction of the *Fákir*, range themselves round him in a semi-circle. The Moslems are reputed to have a horror of lizards, and it is curious that they should hold in such esteem a member of the same family, for they are after all saurians both, but this anomaly is due, we suppose, to their gross ignorance of Natural History.

Other ruins of Khán Jahán Ali are referred to, and some described, notably the mosque at Musjid Kar, or “the dug out mosque,” near Amadi,† on the Kabudak river. Some ruins ascribed to Khán Jahán, also occur near Vidyánankáti, a place within four miles of Ganj Kisabpúr, and somewhat more than a score of miles from the sadr station of Jessore. These have not been noticed by Mr. Westland, but a good account of them and the local legends regarding them, will be found in an interesting paper by Bábu Rásvihari Bose, Deputy Magistrate, in *Mookerjee’s Magazine*, N. S., vol. ii, pp. 193-201.

Who was Khán Jahán Ali? This is a question which Mr. Westland has attempted to solve, but we fear not satisfactorily,

* There are two species of the genus crocodile in the rivers in Lower Bengal, designated by Mr. W. Theobald, Junior, *C. porosus*, Schneid, and *C. palustris*, Less., in *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, 1868, and there described as distinguished from one another by the conformation of their skulls, the former being narrow and the latter broad. But, on examining a number of skulls of both species in the Cal-

cutta Zoological Museum, Mr. Wood Mason, the acting Curator, could only distinguish them by the shape of the suture in the interior of the skulls, in one of which, if we recollect right, it is curved, and in the other angular.

† A good deal below this on the same river, in Lot. 211, are ruins said to belong to a palace and fort: *vide Cal. Rev.*, vol. xxxi, p. 388.

nor, as far as we are aware, have others been more fortunate in this respect. Mr. Westland says that Khán Jahán came to reclaim the lands in the Sundarban, which were at that time waste and covered with forest, because, as before stated, the Parganah in which his buildings are situated is called Khalífatábád "reclaimed on the part of the Emperor," or "by the Emperor's commands." But this would be assuming that Khán Jahán named the Párganah Khalífatábád, or that it has borne that designation, only from his time, and this is quite a gratuitous assumption. Bábu Rasvihari Bose is almost of the same opinion, (*Mookerjee's Magazine*, N. S., vol. ii, pp. 200-201). Bábu Gaurdása Basáka states very precisely that, "he was a chief of great piety and liberality, who was rusticated from the court of Delhi, and was sent to this place to hold the post of *Tuhsildár*;" but we are wholly unable to discover any authority whatsoever for his very circumstantial statement, and we must pronounce it to be based on nothing more substantial than vague conjecture. One, who visited these ruins so far back as 1793, says,* obviously from verbal information received on the spot, that "in the time of "Hossein Sháh *Budsha* of Gour, Kisboor Khán was his *more-chulburdur* (the bearer of the peacock's tail) and being in "great favor, was sent to superintend the collections of this "then opulent district, having amassed great wealth, and being "inclined to a religious life and an easy retirement in his latter days, "he was favored by a vision, wherein the Lord appeared to him, "commanding that he should perform certain works and assume "the more honorable name of Kunjee Wallace in future." This account is quite as circumstantial as, but altogether opposed to, that of the Bábu last-named: it has, however, unfortunately an anachronism, which completely shatters its basis. Khán Jahán Alí died in A. H. 863, but Husain Sháh, (the twenty-first King of Bengal), did not commence to reign till long afterwards, probably not before A. H. 899, as ascertained by, Mr. Blochmann. Khán Jahán lived for some time and died in the reign of Mahmúd Sháh, (the twelfth King of Bengal), and was contemporary of a somewhat similar character, the warrior and saint of Rangpúr, Sháh Ismáíl Ghází, who was, curiously enough, also erroneously supposed to have lived many years later than was actually the case, for Mr. G. H. Damaut, C.S., has satisfactorily proved that he died on the 14th Shrában, 878 A.H.,=the 4th January 1474 A. D. And, strange to say, the legend concerning him learnt by Mr. Blochmann at Húglí, (*Pro. As. Soc., B.* 1870, p. 117), likewise associates Ismáíl with Husain Sháh's reign. The reason for the name of Husain Sháh being frequently referred

* *Vide Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, vol. ii., p 256.

to, is doubtless, as explained by Mr. Damant, (*Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S.*, vol. xliii, p. 216), because "Bengalis almost invariably attribute any important event of which they do not know "the date, to the time of that king; for he is the only king "who is still remembered by name among the common people."

Mr. Blochmann, in his most valuable "Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal," (*Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S.*, vol. xlii), simply describes Khán Jahán as "the warrior saint of Khalífatábád." We venture to think the question as to the exact status held by Khán Jahán Alí to be still an open one, and would fain invite the attention to it, of those who take an interest in such enquiries, with the view of obtaining a solution.

It was at this place, Khalífatábád, some time afterwards, that Nusrat Sháh, during the life-time of his father, Aláuddin Husain Sháh, and evidently when in successful rebellion against him, erected a mint-town in the midst of the Sundarban. Mr. Westland was evidently unacquainted with this fact. We find the *facsimile* of one of the coins here manufactured in *Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S.*, vol. xlii, plate ix, No. 10, given by Mr. Blochmann. It is described as "Silver. Weight, 154·06 grains." Khalífatábád, 922, A. H. (*As. Soc. of Bengal*). Circular areas; no margin." It is $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch in diameter, and the legend runs thus:—

Observe.— السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدين ابو المظفر

Translation.—The King, son of a King, Náçiruddunyá Waddín Abul Muzaffar.

Reserve.— نصرة شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلدملكه

خليفة با ٩٢٢

Translation.—Nuçrat Sháh, the King, son of Husain Sháh, the King, the Husaini,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule. Khalífatábád, 922.

In Mr. Blochmann's "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal," No. 2 (*Jour. As. Soc. B., N.S.*, vol. xliii, p. 309,) certain coins of Nuçrat Sháh are enumerated, and No. 7, Plate xiii, seems to bear on the obverse the name of the same mint-town Khalífatábád. This coin, however, appears to be very different from the one we have just described in the preceding paragraph: it is evidently composed of silver,* weighs 163·97 grains, and is about an inch in diameter, and altogether

* Prior to 1542 A.D. (949 A.H.), silver coins were called by the Muhammadans in the Arabic *dirhen*, but in that year Sher Sháh, then on the

throne of Dilbí, introduced the silver *rupi*, or *rupaya*, a silver pice, according to Abul Fazl.

in far better condition than the other, and of superior style of workmanship. It is dated 924, A.H.

The next ruins referred to are those of Jessore-Iswaripúr, the ancient city of Jessore. These, though not now situate within the district, obviously could not have been passed over without a passing notice. They date from the latter part of the sixteenth century, and are on the Jabúua river, Sátkhirá division, and the Twenty-four Parganah district. Most of these buildings were erected by Rájá Pratápáditya, and some scanty historical information about him is given by Mr. Westland, aided, it is stated, by Bábu Pratápa Chandra Ghosh, who is, we believe, the author of an able historical romance in Bengáli connected with this illustrious personage and his times: it is entitled *Bangadwip Parajay*, and was published in Calcutta some years ago.

We shall here furnish a brief sketch of Pratápádityá's life, not confined to the particulars communicated by the author of the work under review.

In a Sanskrit work, under the title of *Kshitisha Bansávali Charitam*,* or the chronicles of the family of Rájá Krishn Chandrá, of Navadwipa, it is stated that, of the twelve Rájás—the *Bárah Bháyas*, who then held sway over Bengal, Pratápáditya was the most powerful, and he refused to pay tribute to the Emperor, and for some time successfully resisted the forces sent to oppose him. At length the famous Hindu General, Mán Singh, was despatched with an army against him, and he attacked and defeated the forces of the recusant Rájá, captured his city, and took him prisoner. Pratápáditya was sent in an iron cage to Dillí, but he died *en route* at Banáras. In his stead a cousin of his, named Kochu Rái, was appointed to govern this part of the country. It was, doubtless, from this source that Bhárat Chandra Rái obtained the historical information about Jessore contained in his charming but insidious poem of *Vidyá Sundar*, which opens with this well-known line:—

বশর নগর ধাম, প্রতাপ আদিত্য নাম, মহারাজ বঙ্গজ কায়স্থ ।

"In the city of Jessore, there lived a great Rájá of the Bengal Káyastha caste, named Pratápáditya."

Further and more minute particulars of Pratápáditya can be obtained from "a life of Pratápáditya," who is therein curiously designated "the last King of the 'Ságar Island,'" written by Bábu Rám Bose, which is among the first works written in Bengáli prose, and one of the earliest printed in

* This work was published in the MSS. purchased by Sir Robert Berlin in 1852, and contains besides Chambers in India, and on his death the Sanskrit text, an English translation and notes. It was one of King of Prussia.

that language. It sets forth that a Bengali Káyastha, Rám Chandra, was an *employé* in an office at Sâtgaon, and lived there with his sons, Bhavananda, Gunananda, and Sivananda. In consequence of a quarrel they parted, and the last named of the trio proceeded to Gaur, where he obtained profitable employment during the reign of Sulaiman. The son of this King, named Daud, who succeeded to the throne, refused to pay tribute to the Emperor, and an army was sent to subdue him: his troops were signally defeated, and he himself was slain. Two of Sivananda's family, Vikramáditya and Vasanta Rái, fled with their wealth to Jessore, and it is also said, carried there the valuables of the King, who wanted them to be removed to a place of security. Subsequently Vikramáditya obtained his *sanad* as Rájá of Jessore; and is stated to have expended a couple of lákhs of *Rupis* or more in charity to the poor, and feeding Bráhmans. Large grants of land were made to Káyasthas, and the tract of country inhabited by them is mentioned as extending from Dháká to Halishar. A son was born to Vikramáditya, whom he named Pratápáditya; and it was predicted of him at his birth, that he would supersede his father, and this prediction was afterwards fulfilled. He was well educated and skilled in all manly exercises, and when in Dilhí, where he was sent to be trained, he obtained from the Emperor Akbar a *khelat* for his poetic effusions. He successfully intrigued to get his father ousted, and obtained the Ráj for himself. He built a new city near Jessore, at a place called Dhumghát, the gate-way of which was so lofty, we are told, that an elephant with a *howdák* could pass under it without the slightest inconvenience. He subdued the neighbouring Rájás, and became so powerful, that he presumed to set the authority of the Emperor at naught, and would not consent to do him homage and remit him the usual revenue. Several expeditions sent against him were unsuccessful, but he was finally overcome and taken captive, as before narrated.

As regards the origin of the name of the district, we learn that the last of the so-called independent Kings of Bengal, Daud, having rebelled against the Emperor of Dilhí, Vikramáditya, one of the councillors of the former, fled with his wealth to this place in the Sundarban, then known as Bháti, which he named Yashahara, "Glory depriving," signifying that Gaur had been deprived of its glory. This account Mr. Westland says, occurs in "a popular history of Pratápáditya," but he, *i.e.* the author, is inclined to consider it intended to convey, for reasons given, the idea of "supremely glorious."

We have somewhere read or heard that, when Vikramáditya was seeking a ~~safe place for his treasures~~ ^{place to secure his treasures}, he proceeded by boat towards the Sundarban, and

being asked where he would land, he said, জেহাহর *Jeshahar* "any city," hence the spot where he stopped was so called, and in course of time it came to assume the present designation যশহর *Yashahara*. We simply give this derivation for what it is worth, and do not in any way recommend it to our readers, as the correct one.

Another version, for which we are indebted to Bábu Rásbihári Bose (*Mookerjee's Magazine*, N. S., vol. i.), derives the designation from a ferryman named যশা পাটনী *Jashá-Pátní*, who used to ply his craft on the Kadamtali river, now a mere *khál*, and who at night frequently observed resplendent rays of light emerging from the depths of the stream. He reported this to Rájá Pratápáditya, who fell in *dharná* before the place. After fasting for three days he was visited by a vision, in which the goddess Kálí appeared to him, and told him that her stone image evolved the shining light, and when the stream dried up she would consent to be worshipped there, and thenceforth become the guardian divinity of the family. She is said to have resided in Pratápáditya's palace to protect him from harm; but on one occasion, when his cruelty stepped beyond bounds, she appeared to him in the guise of one of his daughters, and being rudely commanded to go away, she gave him a reproachful look and left him for ever. And the image of the goddess in the temple, which before that faced the south, was found to have turned its head to the east. Soon after, the tale proceeds, the army of the Emperor Jahángír, under the redoubtable Rájá Mán Singh, took the city and captured its ruler.

Rájá Pratápáditya was one, and it is stated the chief, of the twelve *Barah Bhuyas*, or the great land-holders, who then owned Bengal; and an interesting account of five of these personages, belonging to Eastern Bengal, is given by Dr. J. Wise in *Jour. As. Soc., B.*, N. S. vol. liii, pp. 197-214, where the status held by them is, evidently for the first time, clearly defined.

Jessore-Iswaripúr not being at present comprised within the Jessore district, as its limits have been considerably curtailed since 1788, Mr. Westland did not visit the place, and was, therefore, unable to furnish us with an account of the ruins there. But we ought, we think, to supply such information on the subject as we can from other sources. Bábu Rásbihári Bose's valuable paper on the "Antiquities of Jessore-Iswaripúr," which appeared in *Mookerjee's Magazine*, N. S., vol. 1, furnishes us with a good many particulars on this point, and we cannot do better, we think, than very briefly note down what he has communicated thereanent.

First and foremost must be noticed the temple of Jessore-Iswari, where the trunkless image of the relentless goddess Kálí is placed

with a heap of clothes wrapped below its neck, lest its dilapidated state should provoke the ridicule of any irreverent spectator. To explain the cause of the image being deprived of its just proportions, the *Adhikáris*, or the priests in whose charge it is, have invented a marvellous tale, which we need not here repeat *in extenso*. Suffice it to say that Pratápáditya having seen a glorious light issue from below the ground, dug at the spot, and came upon the head of the goddess. Hence her fane is roofless, to permit of her emanations ascending uninterrupted to heaven. Formerly, it is said, pious Hindu pilgrims used to flock in vast numbers to behold this wondrous image of the dread goddess of the Bengális, the bloody Káli, and the resident priests waxed rich with their lavish offerings; but now, we are told, "family dissensions, as well as an unbelieving age, have brought them to the brink of ruin."

Originally, it would appear, the local habitation of the goddess was far grander and more imposing, as about one-fourth of a mile from its present dwelling, are the remains of "a magnificent brick structure rising high in the air;" and the Bábu is, no doubt, quite right in conjecturing it to have been "a gigantic Hindu temple converted by Mussulman bigotry into a *musjid*," for adjoining it are the tombs of the twelve Umarás, or nobles, who were sent against Pratápáditya, and who were slain by him before the advent of Mán Singh, the illustrious ancestor of the present Jaipur chieftain.

The city was evidently fenced in, and defended by a strong and lofty wall, as the remains of it, it is stated, may be traced for a dozen miles or so, as far as Dhumghát, whither Pratápáditya removed the capital, owing to his unwillingness to disturb his father, Vikramáditya, whom he had deposed.

Not far from the walls of the city is a large tank, designated Chánd Rái, after a member of Vasanta Rái's family. Besides this there are two more tanks, called Rúp Rái and Mánik Rái, after other members of the same family.

To the west of the existing village are the ruins of one of Pratápáditya's palaces, named *Báradhwari*, signifying "the mansion of twelve doors. It is said to have been a spacious dwelling, facing an immense tank, which is rapidly filling up. Close to it are the ruins of Kochu Rái's house, which no one has ventured to dismantle, nor has any one appropriated its materials, from a superstitious idea, that the spirit of the owner would arise to prevent any one molesting what was his habitation when on earth.

The Jail, or *Háfiz Kháná*, stands half-mile southward, and the roof, despite the neglect of three centuries, remains almost entire. The building is said to have had three stories, two of which have sunk below the ground, but this is hardly credible.

The ruins at Mahmúdpúr, called after Mahmúd Sháh, the twelfth King of Bengal, wrongly designated by Mr. Westland Muhammadpúr,* are next noticed. They all belong to the period of Sitárám Rái, the notorious zamindár of Basnah, styled by the writer of the report, a Rájá. Mr. Westland is unable to account how the zamindári came into Sitárám's hand, but Mr. Blochmann (*Jour. As. Soc., B., N. S., vol. xiii, p. 229*), supposes him to have been one of the descendants or successors of the equally notorious Mukund, who possessed the Sirkár of Fathábád (Farídpúr) and Parganah Bosnah, and after whom was named Char Mukundia, a large island in the Ganges, opposite Farídpúr. His son Satrijit, in the reign of the Emperor Jahángir, would not consent to pay any revenue to the Nawáb at Dháká, and was captured during the sovereignty of Sháhjában, and hanged at Dháká, about, it is said, A. D. 1636.

The tale of Sitárám is related in the report thus:—Bengal was divided into twelve provinces, each one of which was held by a separate Rájá, and all of them becoming refractory, Sitárám was despatched to act against them. He succeeded so effectually, that he not only dispossessed them, but was able to appropriate to himself their holdings, when he in turn refused to pay any revenue. The Nawáb sent his son-in-law, Abu Tarab, against Sitárám, but the latter possessed a redoubtable warrior in the person of Menahatti, the invading forces were defeated, and its leader killed. Another expedition despatched to apprehend him was successful, and his General, Menahatti, having been taken prisoner and put to death, Sitárám had to succumb. He was carried as a captive to Dháká, and he is stated to have, "sucked poison from a ring, which, Hannibal-like, he kept against such emergencies, and so he died." This event occurred, Mr. Westland says, "at the very latest about 1712 or 1714 A.D."

According to Stewart,† Sitárám slew Abu Tarab, the Fouzdár of Bosnah, and the former was afterwards captured and taken to Murshidábád, where he was impaled. When this event occurred it is not precisely stated. The late well-known writer, Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitra, in one of the series of articles on "The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal" (*Calcutta Review*, vol. lvi,) states that Dayáram, the founder of the Dighápatíá family, headed the successful expedition sent to apprehend Sitárám, and was on that account created Rái Ráyan by the Nawáb; but he, unfortunately, does not supply us with any date.

* Mr. Westland derives the name from an aged Moslem *Fakír*, Muhammad Khán, who resided on the spot, and would only consent to vacate it, when requested by Sitárám to leave,

on condition that the place should be called after him.

† *Vide his History of Bengal, Calcutta, 1847, pp. 239 and 240.*

As regards the date of the decease of Sitárám, it would appear from certain correspondence, inserted in Rev. J. Long's "Selections from the Records of Government," vol. i, that he died long subsequent to the time mentioned by Mr. Westland. At pp. 361 and 362, we find a letter from the Nawáb to the English Governor of Calcutta, under date the 18th November 1764, stating that—

"I have had the pleasure to receive your letter wherein you write 'that Mr. Rose, an English merchant, was going in a boat with some money and goods; that the boat people murdered him near Backergunge, seized the money and goods, and took shelter in the zemindari of Seetaram; that you enclosed me an account of the money and goods that were plundered; that I should write to the Naib of Dacca to make the zemindar refund, and to take such vigorous measures that those parts may be entirely cleared of robbers and murderers.' Sir, agreeably to your desire, I have written an order to Syed Mahomed Reza Khan, and I herewith send it open for your perusal, you will be pleased to forward it."

Again, at pp. 387, 388 and 389, in a letter from the Governor to the Nawáb, dated the 14th November 1764, Sitárám is mentioned—

"I have already, by word of mouth, represented to you that as Mr. Rose, an English gentleman, was travelling in a boat with some money and goods, the boat people murdered him near Backergunge and carried away the money and goods, and took shelter in the zemindary of Seetaram. In order to enquire into this affair, I sent an Englishman to the said zemindar, but he would not regard him," etc., etc.

And strange to say the name of Dayárám also crops up in the same page, in a letter "to Mirza Eritch Cawn," Naib of Murshidábád, from the Governor, under date the 10th January 1764 :—

"At this time I am informed, by a letter from Mr. Williamson at Cossimbazar Factory, that a hundred maunds of silk belonging to the Company were coming from Rampore Bholeah to the said Factory, but were stopped by Dayárám the zemindar of Rajshaye on the occasion of the troubles breaking out, and that one Radha Kishen, an officer of yours, has taken the said silk from the zemindar into his own possession, and has not yet sent it to the Factory."

If we are to accept the above statements regarding Sitárám as facts, then it would appear that this refractory zemindar was living up to at least the close of 1764, when he may have been captured by Dayárám and imprisoned at Nátor, as represented by Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitra. We may here add, that 1764 was exactly a year prior to the Dewáni being vested in the Hon'ble East India Company by the Emperor of Dilhí.

The report gives a graphic description of the ruins, and the principal ones would appear to be the quadrangular fort, two tanks, named respectively Rām Sāgar and Sūkh Sāgar, Sitārām's house, the *Singh Darwāzā* or the "lion gate," the *Punyaghar*, and the temples of Kālī and Lakshmi Nārāyan. The first of the two temples just named formerly bore an inscription in Sanskrit, and a transcript of it is given by Mr. Westland, and was obtained by him from the superintendent of the temples. The date is enigmatically expressed, and Mr. Westland considers it to be 1621 of the Saka era, which starts from the birth of Salivāhana, a mythological prince of the Dukhun, who opposed Vikramāditya, the ruler of Ujjayanī; it commenced on the 1st Vaisakh, 3179 Kālī Yuga, = Monday, 4th March 78 A.D. The year given, 1621 A.S. corresponds with 1699 and 1700 of the Christian era. The other temple, that of Lakshmi Nārāyan, is also stated to have had a Sanskrit inscription, which was likewise furnished by the superintendent of the temples to the writer of the report, and the date of which is set down as 1626 A.S., = 1704-5 A.D. There is a third temple, dedicated to Krishna, which has an inscription in the Sanskrit language, but in Bengālī characters, with the date given in the usual enigmatical manner, and stated to be 1625 A.S., = 1703-4 A.D.

Sitārām bore by no means such a good character as Mr Westland's informant would have him believe, and this is borne out by an expression some times used by the natives in these parts,—“He is another Sitārām,” and applied to any one who leans for support on, or appropriates the possession of, some other person.

Then follows some interesting information, regarding the ruins at Mirzānagar, which was the residence of the Fouzdār of Jessore. Mr. Westland gives A. D. 1700 as the date of these ruins; but Stewart informs us,* that as far back as 1796, Nur Alī was Fouzdār of Jessore, so the ruins are evidently somewhat older than the date assigned to them.

Mirzānagar or the “Mirzā's city,” is close to Trimohini, and the building called the Nawāb-bāri, *i.e.*, the “Nawāb's house” is there, as well as the remains of the *Kilā-bāri*, or fort. Besides these, there are other ruins, such as the dungeon and wells; the inner sides of the latter were finely plastered and rendered quite smooth, so that the wretched prisoners who were flung into them were utterly unable to get out. No inscription appears to have been discovered. The only local tradition recorded of it, is connected with the dire oppression of one Kishar Khān, which, strange to say, appears to have been the original name of Khān Jahān Alī, but Mr. Westland finds the Kishar Khān here referred to have been a petty zemindār, from certain official correspondence of 1791.

* *History of Bengal*, p. 207.

A copy, or rather a translation of an affecting petition is given, dated 1798, from two octogenarians, named Hidayat-ullah and Rahmat-ullah, praying for a subsistence from Government, and claiming to be the great-grandsons of Núr-ullah Khán, the Nawáb Nazim of Bengal, and foster-brother of the Emperor Aurangzeb. Mr. Westland rightly supposes that the person stated to be the Nawáb Nazim of Bengal, was in reality the Fouzdár of Jessore, who displayed such pusillanimity on the rebellion of the Hindu Zamindár, Subha Sing, and the Afghán chief, Rahim Khán, and which, we may add, was seized on as a pretext by the various European nations in Bengal, the English, the French, and the Dutch, to fortify their respective factories. But the name of the Fouzdár was Nur Ali, and not as Mr. Westland several times states, Nur-ullah.

The remaining ruins described are those of Kopilmoni, on the Kabadak river. The place derives its name from a sage or *muni* of the name of Kopil, who set up the worship of the goddess called Kopileswarí.

The origin of the worship of the goddess is neither related by the writer of the report, nor was he evidently informed about it. Our information is derived from an article by Bábu Rásbihári Bose, who visited the locality in his official capacity as Sub-divisional officer of Khulná, in the early part of 1868. The account given of it is as follows :—

“ One of the respectable men from Mahomedcatty stated, on the authority of an old man, who had again heard it from his grandfather, that on the day of the Baroni festival, Kopil became *Sidhá*, and being anxious to test the fact by ocular demonstration, invoked his favorite goddess to grace his hermitage by her presence. The goddess came riding on her waves, and when she departed Kopil threw himself into her waters and died, praying that on the anniversary of his death, she would make her appearance on the spot for an hour.”

Another version is thus clearly related by the same writer :—

“ At night I received visits from a large number of respectable men of the surrounding villages. In reply to my inquiries about the origin of the fair, one of them told me, that Kopil's mother having expressed a desire to go on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at the time of the Baroni, when that sacred stream is thought to become specially sacred, Kopil said, she need not take so much trouble, as he could bring the goddess herself to grace the stream flowing beneath her cottage. Accordingly, on the day of Baroni, Kopil invoked the Ganges, and the goddess testified her presence in the Kabadak by thrusting her hand out of the water, the rest of her body remaining buried under the waves. It is said that, at the request of Kopil, she agreed in future to appear at that place for an hour at the time of the

"Baroni festival, in consequence of which the stream flowing under the hermitage of Kopil became sacred on that particular day, and attracted crowds of pilgrims from the surrounding villages."

Yet another and different account was given to the Bábu by the priest in charge of the temple :—

"It was on the thirteenth day after the full moon, the day of the Baroni festival, that Kopil became *Sidhá*, or had his prayers accepted in heaven, and it was to commemorate that event that he instituted the fair, which was continued on that day. * . * The priest also related, that the daughter of one Bangsi Chuckurbutty one evening came to light the temple of Kopilmoni, but, both the girl and the goddess thereupon disappeared from the temple. The bereaved father having searched for his child in vain, at last fell in *Dharná* before the temple. On the third day the goddess appeared to him in his dream, and said that she had destroyed the girl for presuming to enter the temple in an impure dress, and that her own stone image having deserted the new temple so profaned had returned to the ancient temple built by Kopil, which was to be found beneath the waters of the Kabadak, but that she would continue to accept of offerings made to her in the former before an image made of clay."

We are unable to state at what precise period the sage or hermit Kopil lived, but he was, evidently, of some mean caste, and a few suspect that, the Mohunts in charge of the temple, who are *jogis*, "weavers," are his descendants. That he did not belong to any of the three higher castes, Bráhmaṇ, Kayásthā, or Vaidya, is proved by the fact, that the pilgrims who assemble there, are exclusively composed of the lower classes of Hindus.

There is a well-known tank near Kopilmoni, called *Loboni-Kholona*, not referred to by Mr. Westland, which is almost perfectly dry in the cold weather, but there is a well in the centre of it, and barren women flock from the adjacent parts to bathe in it, under the impression that their disability will thereby be removed. We know not how the water of this particular tank has acquired this peculiar reputation, but there is, doubtless, some mythical tale current to account for it.

The report alludes to certain mounds at Agrá, near Kopilmoni, and there are traces there of brick buildings being buried in the earth. Bábu Rasbihari Bose says on this head, "that Kopilmoni and its neighbourhood contain the ruins of a large city, whose splendour has long since passed away."

Mr. Westland does not mention a Moslem tomb at Kopilmoni, which is held in great veneration by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. It is that of a *Fákir*, named Jafir-ullah, who is reputed to have died three score and ten years ago, or more.

The concluding portion of the second part of the report comprises the outlines of the histories of the Rájás of Naldangá, Jessore, and Nátor.

The first of the trio above named, Naldangá, is generally considered to belong to the most ancient family in the district. The Rájás of this place claim to be descended from one Haladhar Bhattacharjya, who resided in the village of Bhabrasuba, in the district of Dháká, some four centuries back. One Vishnu Dás Hazrá, who was a descendant of the fifth generation of the aforesaid Haladhar, may be said to have founded the fortunes of the family, as he acquired five villages about Naldangá from the Nawáb of Bengal, for having assisted him with supplies when hard pressed for provisions, and which simple act of hospitality has been magnified into a miracle in the local tradition current about him. He is represented as being a recluse, who resides by himself in the jungle, and had a son named Srimantá Rái, on which Mr. Westland naively remarks that "one does not see how he could have produced a son." This miraculous offspring of the hermit obtained, it is said, the *sobriquet* of Ranabhir Khán, for his remarkable strength and courage, which, the legend anent him states, stood him in good stead in expelling the Afghán zamindars, who held lands in that part of the country, and annexing their vast estates to his own comparatively slender patrimonial possessions. Of course in those days of anarchy and mis-rule, "the good old rule" and "the simple plan" was in full force:

"That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

as Wordsworth sang over Rob Roy's grave.

The first member of the family who bore the title of Rájá, is stated to have been Chandi Charn Deb Rái, who was the third in descent from Srimantá, but the date of this event is not given, nor probably known to any one. The appellation of Rájá, appears to have been assumed by the larger zemindars of their own accord, and there is no evidence, we believe, to show that this family ever obtained any authority for bearing that title from the Nawáb.

The present Rájá, Pramatha Bhusan Deb Rái, is only an adopted son of the last Rájá, Indra Bhusan Deb Rái, who was himself an adopted son of the preceding Rájá, Sasi Bhusan Deb Rái, successor of Rám Sankar, an own son of Rájá Krishna Deb Rái.*

* Mr. Westland says that the immediate predecessor of this Rájá, by name Raghu Deb Rái, having refused to obey an order of the Nawáb, he ordered Raghu's possessions to be made over to Rám Kánta, at that time (A.D. 1737) Rájá of Nátor. But, according to Bábu Kisari Chánd

Mitra, (*Cal. Rev.*, vol. lvi, p. 8), Rám Kánta's father, Rájá Rámjibaná, died in that year, and the Nátor estates were managed during the minority of his son by Dayáram Rái.

† He held the title of Rájá by virtue of a sanad.

On the death of the latter in 1773, the estates were divided into three distinct portions, one of which, amounting to $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of the whole, comprising, what Mr. Westland terms, the "eastern circle," is all that is left of the inheritance in the family. The other two portions are now owned by the Naráil family, which has only recently become possessed of extensive landed properties in the district, in fact since the Permanent Settlement, which circumstance we shall have occasion to refer to more fully hereafter.

The Rájá of Jessore, *alias* Chanchrá, where the *Ráj-bári* is now located, asserts his descent from Bhaaheshwar Rái, who is said to have been one of the warriors in the train of Azim Khán, who commanded the Emperor of Delhi's army in Bengal, during A. D. 1582 and 1583; but what authority he has for so doing, we are not informed. Bhaaheshwar acquired, we are told, some of the vast possessions of Rájá Pratápáditya, and, probably, on that refractory personage being taken prisoner, assumed the title of Rájá. The next successor, Mutab Rám Rái, retained the possessions, and his successor Kándarpa Rái, added five Parganahs, including Selimábád. Next comes Manobar Rái, who, within the space of a little more than a score of years, from A. D. 1682 to 1703, acquired possession of more than a dozen additional Parganahs, large and small, including Sahos and Calcutta. Can the latter be meant for our "City of Palaces? We trow not. In the time of Sukh Deb Rái, successor of Krishna Rám, son of Manobar, 4 as., *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{4}$ ths or one-fourth of the family property was made over to his brother, Syám Sundar, and this passed afterwards, in default of any heir male of his body, to Sálah-u-din Khán, as compensation for some lands of his near Calcutta having been taken from him by the Nawáb and granted to the East India Company. In 1814, Hájí Muham-mad Mohsin was in possession of this one-fourth share, and he dying without heirs, bequeathed it in trust for the benefit of the *Imam-bára* at Húglí. This is the *Wakf*, or trust estate, in Jessore, in charge of Government, and known as the *Chár-áni* or "four-anna zemindari," which designation became attached as a prefix to the name of one of the first Deputy Collectors in the district, the late Mr. A. T. Smith, who had the management of it, and who was thenceforth known to all, both Europeans and Natives, as *Chár-áni* Smith.

The twelve-anna share passed from Sukh Deb on his death to his son Nílkánta Rái, who was succeeded by Śrikánta Rái, in 1764, and it was during his time that the family became impoverished; so much so, that on his death, which occurred in 1802, his son, Benikánta Rái was left without any land, and dependent on the liberality of Government for support. But in 1808 he was able to recover some portion at least of his ancestral possessions, by obtaining a decree in the Supreme Court for the cancelment

of the sale of certain estates sold at the Sheriff's sale. He was succeeded in 1817 by the present Rájá, Baradá Kánta Rái, who being then a minor, the estates were for a long time under the Court of Wards.

In 1859, Lord Canning, then Governor-General, was pleased to grant to Baradá Kánta Rái a *sanad* as "Rájá Báhádur;" and the Commissioner of the division, at that time Mr. Arthur Grote, conferred on him the title at a Durbar held in Jessore expressly for that purpose.

The Rájá does not appear at any time to have taken an active interest in the management of his estates.

The last Rájá, whose history is narrated, is that of Nátor. The founder* of this family was, we learn from Bábu Kisari Chánd Mitra, one Raghunandana; who from the humble occupation of gatherer of flowers for the celebration of Pujás of the Patiýá family, became the vakil of that Ráj at the Court of the Nawáb at Murshidábád, and subsequently occupied successively the posts of Naib Kánúngo, Rái Rayan, and Dewán, which enabled him to acquire vast territorial possessions before his death, which occurred in 1131 of the Bengali era. His brother, Rámjibana, also an able man, succeeded him, and he and his Dewán, the famous Dayáram Rái, greatly increased the grandeur and possessions of the family.

In 1737 A. D., on the death of Rámjibana without having any male issue, the estates passed to his great-grandson, Rám Kánta, who is described as a good enough man, but lacking ability and energy. His wife, Maháráni Bhabáni, who married at the comparatively late age of fifteen, was a very superior woman, and on her husband's death, in 1784, she most ably conducted the management of the estates for a long period. She had no son, but her husband had granted her permission, as usual among Hindus in such cases, to adopt a son and heir.

Maháráni Bhabáni was a celebrated character, and one of the few native women who have displayed ability to rule without fear or favour; and she witnessed the extinction of the Muhammadan, and inauguration of the British Government, in this country. It is related that the Nawáb, the licentious Siráj-ud-daulá, having heard of the surpassing beauty of her widowed daughter, Tárá, was desirous of acquiring possession of her person. This being reported to the Maháráni, she under cover of night escaped with her daughter from the place, and proceeded to Banáras. She was withal a good and devout woman, and spent vast sums of money in charity, and the erection of religious edifices in Banáras, Murshidábád, and of course Nátor.

* Cal. Rev. No. cxi.

The Mahārání on her death was succeeded by her adopted son Rám Krishna, who does not appear to have possessed any capacity for business ; and he had, most unfortunately for him, as his friend and counsellor, the notorious Kálisankar, the founder of the Nárail family, who enriched himself at the expense of his master. The greatly impoverished estates descended on the demise of the Rájá to his son, Biswanáth, who from being a firm worshipper of Sakti, as were his fore-fathers before him, became a Vaishnava. He was succeeded by Gobinda Chandra, who was adopted by the eldest of the three wives of the deceased Rájá, Rání Krishnámání, and he dying after a short time, was succeeded in turn by his adopted son, Govindanáth, whose right of succession was hotly contested up to the Privy Council, but before the judgment of that august tribunal could be pronounced, both Govindanáth and Rání Krishnámání had died. The estates, on the death of Govindanáth, came under the management of his mother Rání Sibeswari.

Another and minor branch of this family, sprung from Sibnáth, a younger brother of Biswanáth, holds a conspicuous position in the district of Rájsháhi. Sibnáth was succeeded by his son Anandanáth Rái, who had the title of " Rájá Báhádur " conferred on him by Government, and was also made a C.S.I. He died in 1866, and his eldest son, Chandranáth, in 1870, received the *sanad* of " Rájá Báhádur," and for some time held an honorable post under the Government of India, as *Attaché* in the Foreign Office.

In the concluding paragraph of Part II., Mr. Westland has referred to the Dighápatíá family, which was founded by Dayáram, who commenced life as an inferior officer or *Amlah* in the Nátor Ráj, and by his consummate tact, judgment and ability, rose to be Dewán, and the owner of extensive landed property in the Rájsháhi district. After his death his son, Pránnáth Rái, succeeded ; he was educated in the Calcutta Ward's Institution and had the title of " Rájá Báhádur " conferred upon him in recognition of his various acts of public liberality, under a *sanad*, bearing date the 20th April 1854, and the investiture was held at Government House in the presence of several independent chiefs. Lord Dalhousie himself invested him with the *insignia* of the title, accompanied with a few kind and encouraging words. This promising native nobleman died in 1861, and his successor is his adopted son, Pramathanáth Rái, who has followed in the footsteps of the late Rájá, and was in 1871, on the recommendation of the Commissioner of the division, created " Rájá Báhádur " by Lord Mayo.

The Report states that, on the disintegration of the Nátor estates, Kálisankar Rái and Dayáram Rái, the ancestors of the Nárail and Dighápatíá families, respectively, became purchasers of large portions thereof ; but Rájá Pramathanáth Rái, we believe,

takes exception to the latter part of the statement, asserting that as the Nátor estates were compact at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and Dayáram died prior to it, Mr. Westland has committed an obvious error. The Rájá cites, in proof of his assertion, the *Kabuliyats* of the then Rájá of Nátor, Rám Kánta, in the Rájsháhi Collectorate; and states that, far from his ancestor depriving the Nátor Ráj of any of its property, it was once owing to the intercession of Dayáram that the estates belonging to it were returned to the family after having been confiscated by the Nawáb. This imputation on the fair character of Dayáram, which stands very high among his countrymen, was, without doubt, unwittingly done, and no one will, perhaps, regret it more than Mr. Westland himself. We were rather surprised to find that the error, for such we believe it to be, has been repeated in the second edition.

H. JAMES RAINEY.

Khulná, Jessore.

Post Scriptum.—The above article having been written some time in March last, we had no opportunity of noticing the paper of Mr. H. Beveridge, C. S.—“Were the Sundarbans inhabited in ancient times?”—which was read and discussed at the Meeting of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, held on Wednesday, the 3rd May; wherein he identifies, “Chiandecan”* with “Chand Khan,” *alias* “Dhumghat,” *alias*, “Jessore-Iswaripúr.” If Mr. Beveridge has satisfactorily established the identity of “Chiandecan” with “Jessore-Iswaripúr,”—and we have only yet been able to read the very meagre *résumé* of the paper in question published in the daily newspapers,—he has afforded us a valuable contribution towards elucidating the history of the Sundarbans. We shall, probably, have occasion to refer at some length to Mr. Beveridge’s paper in one of our future articles on Jessore in this Review.

May 24th, 1876.

H. J. R.

* Purchas in his *Pilgrimage* thus incidentally alludes to this place: “Araacan, Chandecan and Siripur are by Fernandez placed in Bengal, as so many Kingdomes.” *Vide* p. 3, *Early Travels in India*, First Series, Calcutta: Lepage & Co. 1861.

ART. II.—OUR COUNTY GAOL.

OUR Gaol is situated in a certain cold county in England; and having visited this institution, I propose to give a description of its management, regulations, &c. Situated on the outskirts of a small town, we had to pass through the different markets, meat-market,—grain-market, vegetable and butter-market, and so forth. Following the directions given, we came to a small street, about a quarter of a mile long, with no less than seven ale houses. There was no difficulty in finding the building. The high walls, and the heavy gate, with a large printed board showing the penalties under the Act to those who might transgress the law with regard to prisoners, told the story plainly enough.

It was with some little trepidation that, armed with authority to visit from the Home Office, we lifted the huge knocker, so unlike the fanciful knockers of Upper Harley Street, with which Jeames enjoys so much to produce a rat-tat-tat as his mistresses' carriage drives up to pay a visit on the "Tuesday at home." Giving one single knock—the knocker seemed too heavy for more—we waited in silence. No reply—it seems the gate-keeper was some distance off; so we ventured to pull the bell. This produced a dull clang, and shortly the vast oaken door was opened by the door-keeper—an old warder. He touched his cap and asked us to come in. Presenting our order, we were shown into the reception room on the left. "This is the Chief Officer, Mr. Cade," said the door-keeper. "Good morning, Sir," said a powerful man of about fifty. "Come to see the goal?" "All right, Sir," looking at the passport. "Well, Sir, you'll excuse me, you'll like to know all about it, and you ain't the first gentleman as I've shown over our old place."

"This, Sir, is what we call the reception room. The Guvnor's out or would show yer over himself, I'm sure. Them's his keys," taking them from a peg. "The big one is what goes by the name of the master key, and there's only one, which is kept at night in the Guvnor's bed-room. Nothing but a steam ram could open that door; the lock cost £6-10 without the master key. Unless the lock be thrown back, as it is now, no one can open it. Well, we comes to the next large key, which the keeper-door holds and I have a duplicate. Then comes the key of the yards, the yard-gates. The big cell block doors, all oak and iron, the inner doors, and, last not least, the cell doors themselves. It ain't easy to open all these. Then, there's the parson's room key, the school-room key, and the

kitchen. All different. There's a little key, and only one which leads through a private door to the Bridewell where the women is kept, who carry on the washin', mendin', and so forth. There ain't many women—"and" looking at a board, "our number of men and boys ain't above sixty. Time was, when I can remember, a matter of thirty years ago, no less than two hundred and fifty to three hundred. Then there was debtors, Sheriff's debtors, we called 'em. There ain't none now, but a man here and there, county court chaps.

Times is changed. Lor' bless yer, Sir—prisoners used to have their pint o' beer and meat. Adam's ale does now, and only a bit o' bread with that for the first month—wheel and all. Well, as I was saying, Sir, this is the receiving room, and when a prisoner is brought in, he enters his name, father's name, &c."—showing a printed book. "There's lots more books, too many by half to my mind, as has to keep 'em up hour by hour. What pay do I get? Well, 25 shillings a-week. Me and my missus has lodgings over head, coals, and gas. The rooms ain't very grand, but our late Guvner—he went back to the Indies (a County Constable there and Magistrate, or what not)—said he didn't like the pay—got these for us, from the gents, the Justices. But I'll tell yer about him afterwards."

Here, there was a solemn knock, and Balderton, the doorkeeper, first spying through a little wicket, admitted a Serjeant, a Policeman and two men.

"Now, Sir, you'll see the way we does it. Well, Serjeant, so you've brought Collins again? Well, Collins, what's up now? Old story, kicked yer father when drunk?" "No, Sir," replied the man, "I 'ot him in the eye." "Good; so this must be, let me see, your sixteenth time?" "Seventeenth time, Mr. Cade; if you please, Sir, I got on the spree and father wanted to turn me out."

"That 'll do, what have yer got about yer? Now look sharp, a knife, a handkercher and three ha' pence; any thing else? No tobacco? Bless yer, these chaps hide tobacco every where. Under the arm pits, any where. At Pentonville they look down your throat!

Good morning Serjeant, there's the receipt. Heard anything of Jenkins, Tom Jenkins, as was on Rev. Ironside's farm?" "Yes," replied the Serjeant "took up at Ipswich, got a twister this time from old B—ll, six months. "Good morning Serjeant," said the Chief Officer, and they were let out.

"Got any marks about yer?" said Mr. Cade, "Oh, scar on left eye." "Got that from father, 2 years come Michaelmas" replied the incorrigible. "Row about beer, and driving a lady home drunk."

"What religion do yer belong to?" asked the Chief Officer.

"Well, I don't know," responded the profligate. "Do yer ever go to a place of worship?" "Well, no." "When yer do go, where do yer go to?" (this was rather puzzling it seemed to us.) "Well, I suppose to the parish Church."

"All right, Protestant." And so with other questions the examination closed.

"Take him away, Balderton, and mind he sees the Doctor; any disease?" "No." "Looks like itch" examining the man's arm—"put him in the itch room—and take this other fellar to the reception room—Doctor comes at four—them six men ought to go down to the yards, been here two days." And so they are marched off, and locked up.

"Do they see any of their friends?" "Oh, yes, once in three months, or they may write a letter, which the Guvnor reads first. They see's their friends through them bars, at about twenty paces distant, before me or the Guvnor. Do the women cry? Well, they needs to, poor baggages. Some times ain't got nothing before 'em but the work'us. Our late Guvnor could tell yer stories about these letters' 'oppin this will find you' and so forth, fit to make yer cry yer eyes out. And when they goes out after being took, if felons, by the barber who does the photos, they goes home with a shillin' or so to start the world with. Perhaps comes back after a week or so after bein' on the tramp.

"That on the right's the Guvnor's room," and then calling—"Balderton, show the gent your part o' the business." Taken into the next room we found Balderton busy with the boiler, filling a large zinc bath with warm water. "Wash 'em, yes, and they wants it, least ways most of 'em as ain't seen water all their lives, and shies at it like mad dogs. Cleans 'em? Yes. I say, now look sharp, and in you go. And then, betimes I take this hair-broom and just scrubs 'em as yer would them steps. Lor, to see the muck come off 'em, surprisin'.

Well, when he's clean, he puts himself into a suit o' dark or light clothes—accordin' whether he's a felon or a misdemeanour," (misdemeanant, our friend meant.) "We gives him a shirt, a pair o' trousers, a waistcoat, jacket, stockings, boots and a handkerchief round his neck. He then goes to the yards and is put on the tread wheel, or to grind corn, or what not. "This next room" (we could smell it) "is the bake room. The bread's not over white, and at fust it chokes-like them as whose digestion, ain't good, after a bout on't."

Going outside we came upon other rooms, the Infirmary. "Our Indian Guvnor used to be that particler, we was glad when he went," said my friend. "He wanted the floor white, and wouldn't have no smell; then we had a new-fangled jim, carbolic acid he called it. Well, it did smell strong. Guvnor used to say,

them small rooms should be fit to eat your dinner in, and so they was.

"This is the store-room," said the old man. "Lots o' things ready for any new batch, such as them military gents they sends at times, and a nice bother they was—curse and swear awful. I've heard language o' kinds, nothing like them chaps as come deserters from Aldershot. Not much good in war time, I speck" added the door-keeper. "This next place, yer see, holds the prisoners' clothes—they's all put up in bundles and ticketed. We fumigate 'em very often. One of our warders fumigated a suit till there wern't nothing left, and the Major, our late Guvnor, made him pay for 'em. Least ways a new suit for the man when he went out. Them handcuffs and heavy leg-irons and chains we 'ave for th' obstreperous, and when he goes in the van to the Assizes. Lord how he laughed. We had one chap as struck Thompson—that's our No 2 warder—and checked the Guvnor, and the man was that wild he wouldn't come out of his cell and stood with a broom defying us. The Guvnor says, Cade, fetch him out, and Cade just walks in, he ain't a light weight, and he says just like 'Damme, man, come out,' he rushes at him, and I'm afraid in comin' out the door was too small, and Cade says, 'kick, would yer?' and bang. Well, the man couldn't move for a fortnight; he says he didn't kick the Chief Officer, but that he got bumped awful. Of corse, Sir, this was a mistake, we ain't allowed to use force. One feller told the Major he wouldn't wash a cell out; he'd see the Guvnor—well further, Sir, and then he wouldn't. Well, the Major says, 'Thompson, put him in irons,' and so he did, fastened his two legs together. Well he wouldn't give in, and at night he rings his bell and insists on seein' the Guvnor. Well, the Guvnor sees him, and he says, says he, Why, yer don't mean me to go to bed in these irons, Sir, do yer? That I do, says the Guvnor, and I shuts the door. Well, it was tidy cold, and the Guvnor was shiverin' like with a heavy cloak on. The cold in these cells regularly runs through yer—and the snow was a fut deep about that time.

Well, the next day, when I goes to help to unlock, what does this chap say, but—'Oh Lor' Mr. Balderton, cold irons in bed all night won't suit me, hand us the pail and I'll clean, or do anything.' Well, when other means, three days bread and wate^r is what the Guvnor can give, don't act, he has the black hole"—opening a double wood and felt door. "It's dark enough. There ain't no bed or chair, only what ye sees, the bare brick. Yer can't see or hear nothin'. A day and a night's the most the wust can stand. That's the Triangle," pointing. "This is used when men are very bad. Cat-o'-nine-tail—only one Justice at least must try the prisoner."

It appears, the men on first coming in, are kept apart from the yards, near what is called the lodge, in separate rooms till seen by the Doctor—a sort of quarantine—who passes them, if free from disease, down to the yards and cells below. Originally the scaffold used to be erected over the lodge in view of the public,

Mr. Cade now accompanied us, and we passed through the garden, a large one. On one side a magnificent *wisteria*, wall fruit, pears, apples, grapes, flowers, vegetables, a fountain and paddocks outside the walls. Two or three orchards, stabling, a piggery, &c. The Chief Officer appeared to be handy at shoe-making, budding roses, painting and planting. Beautiful geraniums, and flowers of all kinds, testified to his care.

We were now led down to the interior of the gaol, in the centre of which we found an octagonal house, raised from the ordinary level, of two stories high, the sitting rooms being on the ground floor.

“There are” said Mr. Cade, who was armed with his bundle of keys, “nine different yards. No. 1, the yard and set of separate cells for Sheriffs’ debtors. No. 2, men under trial. No. 3, yard miscellaneous. No. 4, used in case of men more than ordinary important prisoners, men in the route to long-term prisons or convicts for life. Then the felons’ yard No. 5, then them as is imprisoned for misdemeanours, No. 6. Yer observe, Sir, the wheel which will accommodate fifty is divided in the centre by party walls, so as two sets have no communication together, only see each other at chapel, and then they’s separated. No. 6 for misdemeanants of the first class. These men ain’t sentenced to hard labour, and don’t do no wheel or crank, or corn grinding, &c. They generally prefers to work at cleanin’, paintin’, repairs and garden work, &c., rather than remain idle. Then we have, Sir, No. 7, which we ’ave for an odd lunatic.

Well, some of ’em tries on the dodge, or has epilepsy, and such like fits. We generally, with the help of the Doctor, fuds ’em out, and short commons brings ’em round. Bread and water ain’t fattenin’.

Then there’s No. 8, used for little boys, whom the Guvnor keeps separate. There’s a boy there, Sir, stole a few apples. Why, Sir, you and I ha’ done the same in our time, and it’s apt to harden ’em. The Guvnor has ’em taught to read and write, separate, tho’ we have night-school for felons and misdemeanants, separate nights. No. 9 leads to separate cells, and, in there locked up alone, two prisoners grind corn—and precious hard work it is, the wheel being regulated like—flour falls one side in drawers, and bran, both locked up. So we see what each man does. No, the wheel don’t do any thing. Tho’ our Indian Guvnor wanted to introduce, shafts he called ’em, and machin-

ery. I beg pardon—the wheel, Sir, pumps water into a cistern up there, at top of the Guvnor's house. What do we do when full? Well, your honour, there's what's called a waste pipe, and when the cistern's full, the extra water runs through the main drains." "Here, Collins," said the Chief Officer to a warder, dressed in a neat uniform, a pensioner from the 9th Lancers, "explain to the gentleman the process." Touching his hat, he opened the yard-gate and admitted us. "The men are on the wheel, Sir, for so many hours, according to season, ten hours being the extreme limit." This warder was a most intelligent man, smart, and acquainted with his work. "The men," he added, "are under two warders, I have the felons and Thompson, the misdemeanants. The prisoners are on the wheel half an hour, off ten minutes. Our late Guvnor, Major——, only allowed a certain number of orders, no more, no less. No prisoner allowed to speak unless ill. You see those little boxes divided like pews, with a partition running up to the height of a man, so that the men can't see each other, or speak, or make signs? "Well, Sir"—looking at his watch, "you'll excuse me. The time's up, 20 minutes to 3." The prisoners were resting, sitting down. The word was given "Front form," at this every man slipped to the front and formed line. "Right turn, quick march." They filed into the wheel house and again formed line. The next order "Wheel up," when each man stepped on the wheel, which began to move. The same orders were repeated in the next yard. "There are," said the warder, "so many revolutions, in the minute 54, and a marker on the tread-wheel marks each revolution with a piece of chalk as one step specially marked comes round. When time is up the word is given "off" they form line, right turn, quick march—halt—rest, and so on. After ten minutes' rest, they begin again." Supposing, we remarked, a man wants to drink water? "Well, Sir," observed the warder, "the rules are he raises his hand to the level of his hip, and looks at the warder, who nods, and he goes to the fountain in the centre of the yard, supplied by the wheel, takes a tin-can, chained to the fountain, drinks, and falls in again, not a word spoken." "And in the hot summers?" "Well, Sir, the men sweat terribly—some fall off at times, and others, who want to shirk, throw themselves off. Detected in this, the man is locked up, and reported to the Guvnor at the usual hour. When a few days in his cell, where he sees no one, bread and water, brings him round pretty sharp." Men some times get damaged—their own fault. "No, Sir, they, most of 'em, prefer the wheel—there's some companionship—see some one."

A melancholy sight, this tread-wheel, and a useless waste of motive power, it struck my companion and myself.

"And now, Sir, if you like," said the Chief Officer, "yer may like to see the cook-house." The gate unlocked, and an inner door, and we found ourselves with a warder, cook, and assistant cook, a prisoner.

"This, Sir," said the cook, "is the skilly, 'as they call's it. It's made of good Scotch oat-meal, and, perhaps, you'll taste it." The porridge, for such it was, was wholesome if not very appetising. There was meat put on, boiled. "You see, Sir," said the cook, "to-morrow's meat day, and the next soup day. We takes the water in which the meat has been boiled, and, according to the scale, adds vegetables, onions and the like. Here, Betchem," to the prisoner-assistant, "bring that bowl of soup." Tasting this we found it nutritious, a trifle greasy and not like the clear soup our host had given us the day before. The cheese given on Sundays (no cooking on this day) was—well, such as this county produces. Not so nice, as the Chief Officer said, as the bar soap given out.

"Talking about soap," said Mr. Cade, "our Indian Guvnor, as we called him, insisted on the men's bathing frequently, and the Doctor said he was right. Bless yer, Sir, in the old days a man got one of Balderton's scrubs when he came in, and one when he went out, and quite enough, too, for the likes of them."

Returning from the cook-house we met the Chaplain, who showed us over the chapel. There was a harmonium, played by the school-master at morning service, and on Sunday morning and evening. The Reverend gentleman astonished us by saying that the prisoners chant through the whole of the service. They are taught for an hour and a half in the evening, reading, arithmetic and geography. Well-behaved men are allowed books to read when in their cells, and looking at these, we found that it was rather like forcing religion. The Chaplain had, however, introduced lately books with moral stories, and not reminding the men, perhaps, too much of quotations from the Scriptures at every line.

Then we saw the Surgery—and, to us quite new, the tall tale clock. This Mr. Cade explained to us was for the night watchman, up all night, and every night. Imagine an ordinary clock without hands. In the centre and on the top of the dial, imagine an arrangement for pressing down upon little uprights. That is to say, as a watchman, I am bound to go round without fail every hour at uncertain intervals. Say, I arrive at a quarter-past ten at night, on pressing down the spring a little upright disappears, and marks my visit at that hour and minute. The next morning the Governor comes round and sees that the clock is marked at 9-30, 10-45, and so on, till morning. There is one key, kept by the Governor, so there can

be no tampering, and the lazy warder is as surely caught, as if the Governor sat up all night to watch him. An ingenious process, as some men have known to their cost.

There was the school-room to see, with its clean forms and tables. The wheel house, where is the regulator, or break, a most necessary arrangement, seeing that without this the wheel at times would go round with a fearful velocity.

We wanted to learn, if with all these arrangements and discipline tricks could be played.

"Well, now I'll tell yer, Sir, what they can do with all our watching, and I," said Mr. Cade, "have been here 30 years and ought to know a dodge or two. There ain't no knives allowed, even to peel the taters. But knives some of 'em will have. One day, me and our late Guvnor was searching the prisoners when he come upon all sorts—wooden knives, concealed in a chap's boots, any where. One was made of a bit of hoop-iron, picked up in the garden when digging. Well, if yer please, yer honour, what does my man do, but when put on the Chaplain's fire-place, he takes two piece o' fire-wood and binds 'em on, and so makes a handle. And then sharpens the iron on his iron bedstead. One had as nice a wood fork as you'd like to see. He just got a bit o' fire-wood, and heats the Chaplain's poker red hot, and then burns two prongs. He was found out, for he let the poker fall and burnt the Chaplain's carpet—"That he did" said the Chaplain.

The chap we found gettin' very fat, and inside his pocket we found let in, round his body like a paddiu', a quantity of flour paste. He confessed he cooked *chippatees*, the Guvnor called 'em, on the chapel gas stove; or eat it raw when he couldn't dodge otherwise. Some of 'em eats bran and gets a belly-ache. Yer see, each man has a bell attached to his cell, and one of 'em roused up the Guvnor and told how he had eaten some thing as disagreed with him.

We were shown the bell arrangement. In the cell, about 10 foot square, is a bell-handle; pulling this, the prisoner disengages a brass hand outside his cell and an iron one outside each block of cells. Hearing the bell a warder goes. Oh, he says, No. 9. So he unlocks, and looking along, he sees the hand or indicator down at No. 32 cell. Well, No. 32, what's up? Please, Sir, I don't feel well,—and so he is attended to. Men subject to fits are put in a double cell, with two other men. "Many of 'em," said the Chief Officer "is up to tricks this ways, to get companions, and we had one famous burglary concocted by an American here. When released, our friend comes down from London to our county and commits a burglary. They was all armed with revolvers and fired 'em pretty well, they got lifers each. The Judge

Bramwell, says, I sentence you to transportation for the natural term of your life. One prisoner gives a long whistle. He thought he'd only get ten years, and the other says, cheeky like, "I shan't live so long, your Lordship." Well, he went off to Pentonville, and then was transferred, after the usual time, three years. This American hadn't no counsel, hadn't got money for it. Well, we got them all into the van, and shirking the railway, took 'em nearly four miles in the van by road. The roughs was about all round the court, but our Chief Constable, Captain G., had an extra lot o' bobbies, and we got off all right. The mob cheerin' and sayin' good-bye, old boy, shan't see yer again for some time."

"Prisoners under trial is allowed to feed themselves, and a public-house near used to do for them. He was allowed, on payin', half a pint o' beer. A regular old hand came 'from America to try his hand here. Lor', to see the instruments, crow-bar, jemmy, &c., in court, was a sight.

"One came the repentant dodge, and tried to gammon the parson. Weren't no go—tho' of corse he exorted him, the blackguard. He asked for a pencil to make notes, he said on the parson's sermon, the villain, and he wrote "chits," our Guvnor called 'em to his pals, and said let's try old Fleming's counting house, and so he did.

The women is the wust when they gets their tantrums. One wouldn't eat for a week. However, the Doctor brought the stomach pump, and she came round, gradual like.

They washes the shirts and that like. Yes, the drab cloth clothes are now cleaned. When our new Guvnor came from the Indies he found out that the clothes hadn't been cleaned for forty or fifty years. So he says, we have no right to put a man in prison for being tipsy, and then give him a skin or other disease which may last him a life-time. Well, there was such a to-do, every thing went so smooth till he come. Then you saw prisoners scrubbing the clothes with soap and ammonia. My missus said 'I say, John, what's up, we shan't want any smelling salts when you comes home rather late from the King of Prussia.' The old woman can crack a joke when she ain't bad with the rheumatics." •

On inquiring about salaries, we found that a warder, (they were all pensioners from the army, drawing a pittance) receives per week, paid weekly by the county, twenty shillings. He is entitled to one suit of uniform per year, and a great-coat, lasting three years. The work is hard, and entails standing about in cold, draughty yards, all day, all weathers—snow, rain and hail. No wonder that, as the Chief Officer said, the Guvnor used to say the parson's fire was took care of.

"And do you pick up much information from the prisoners?" I remarked. "A great deal, Sir, and information which the gents don't get hold of. About pheasant preserving, and so forth—parsons and the like. What they say is, we always thought that the poor ought to go to the parson when in trouble, debt or sickness, but you know Mr. Cade, we'd no more o' think o' going to the Reverend Ironside than flying. He's a Justice, and a pretty tight one too. Don't he punish? What's the consequence, these men cuss the parson as he goes by."

"To my mind, beggin' pardon, no offence," said Mr. Cade, "no parson ought to be a Justice. We seem to look to the parson to pray for mercy for us, and to help us to get forgiveness. But when you see the gent's always on the bench, always the hardest on the poor man, sinner tho' he be, one begins to wonder if there's one God for the rich and another for the poor."

Are there any records? There's a parcel o' old books. It seems the Jail is built on the radius principle, as they call it, and when it was built the Emperor of Russia copied it. Jails now-a-days, such as the Wandsworth one, are built different. It don't do to have the Guvnor's house inside the Jail. It don't do to have servant gals about, and butchers and bakers may be friends of one of the prisoners. Then there's a book, showing that the first Guvnor had a farm, and the prisoners worked on it. His salary came to a matter of a thousand a-year besides perquisites, and brewin'. Look at this book, many a stranger's seen this and stared.

"The three women whipped and discharged." That was before the time of Exeter Hall, and Lord what's his name?

Shaftesbury, we suggest. "Aye, that's it, him as got up the Blackin' Brigade."

We now had seen every thing.

The day is occupied as follows, (though time varies with winter and summer):—At five minutes to 6 A.M., the warders arrive and go down to the yards and cells. The first bell goes at 6.30 when every man gets up, dresses and folds up his bed, military fashion. It takes ten minutes to do this and five to unlock—each man being in a separate cell. The men fall in to wash, they have to break the ice not unfrequently. They then fall in and go on the wheel—at ten minutes to 8, the breakfast bell—each man files by the cook, and takes up a tin bowl, which contains the food he is entitled to, weighed carefully. The quantity is regulated by the length of time the man has been in prison—bread and water the first month. Next, at breakfast a certain quantity of porridge and bread. The fifth is the highest grade. Men, particularly soldiers, who have been accustomed to good food, and above all, meat (our country people seeing little of any thing but bacon,

and that occasionally, or at harvest time), fall off in weight considerably, some stone. Every prisoner is weighed on coming in and when going out. Having taken their breakfast, all are locked up, and the waiders go to breakfast. At 9 o'clock the next bell goes, parade for chapel. The Chaplain reads a portion of the service, a psalm or two chanted, two hymns are sung, perhaps a few kind words, and then you may see real tears. The young think of home, and jolly days—a sad sight, reader.

There are many who think the appointment of Governor of a Jail *infra dig.* It will do no man harm, and no employment can be degrading which gives scope for doing good, for reducing, if possible, the number of criminals who prey upon the public, and go to early graves.

Chapel over—the wheel goes again—and so on till dinner. The cleaners are busy all day—generally weakly men, and each piece of brass is as clean as the guns of one of our crack batteries of Artillery.

A few minutes before the dinner bell, men file by, as before, taking whatever the daily ration list, never deviated from, says, is the dinner of the day.

There is meat day, soup day, pudding day, potatoe day, cheese day, &c., each man has in his cell a printed list of the rations and quantities, and the Prison Rules. If a prisoner thinks his rations not full weight, he can demand that they be weighed before him. Mistakes are very rare. But reader, if you only got a piece of bread for your dinner, twice the size of one of the pieces you eat with your soup, fish, meat, and wine, &c., your eye-sight would become keen enough.

An hour is allowed for dinner, and then to the old work. The Doctor calls now—coming every third day—another bell, this is tea. Tea, save the mark! Bread and skilly. The well-behaved finish tea, and can read—there being gas to each cell. Then the school-master arrives at 8 o'clock—another bell, and the men file in, very few can do more than laboriously spell through chapters in the Bible. In their waiting they meet with the same troubles, that did Sam Weller. Another bell, and the men go to bed, the gas is put out, and all is darkness. Nothing to be heard but the watchman's step, or the huge clock, as it strikes the hours that pass rapidly enough in sound sleep. Then, there is that first bell, which makes them start up with a shudder—that wheel again, or perhaps it is the day for the prisoner's "hearing" as he would call it. Worse, the day of the Assizes, and he can hear the trumpeters as they play before the Judge, who is going to Church before he sits in judgment. Is it to be transportation for life, or death? How he hopes and hopes! How he clings to this, to that straw! How he will implicate his own brother to get off!

Sentenced to imprisonment, he goes down to the cells below the court, he there sees his friends for a few minutes, has a last meal—a last half-pint of ale, and is *en route* to the prison. If a stranger, he will stare at the large brass blunderbuss which has held its place for now one hundred years, having never been used for any more deadly purpose than to frighten away the crows. Reader, as you close the book upon this little story, be thankful that you have never been tempted to commit an offence placing you in our cold melancholy County Gaol.

E. M. P. E.

ART. III.—MUHAMMAD.

THE experience of history has uniformly demonstrated that the approach and advent of any new era, or of the clearly defined expression of any new phase of thought, has ever been heralded and preceded by a perceptible undercurrent of feeling paving and preparing the way for its general acceptance. Ideas and crude inceptions which have for some time been floating and perhaps unconsciously germinating in the minds of the multitude, but which have failed to assume a precise or tangible form, find unexpected enunciation at the hands of one who, whether it be due to clearer intuitive perceptions, to greater powers of concentration of thought, or to whatever other cause, becomes their fitting and recognized exponent, around whom all action at once centres. Elevated thus to the vanguard of the progressive advance, he assumes, often at first involuntarily, its leadership, and becoming thus conspicuously identified with the movement, is impelled onward on its flood by forces, the power of which he finds that he has not only failed to estimate or foresee, but of which he soon learns that he has ceased to retain all but the nominal dominion, the mere semblance of control. "All history," it has been affirmed by Carlyle, "is but the biographies of great men," and amongst the illustrious names of those who have come forward to fill the foremost ranks and to assume the prominence of the leadership of thought in all ages; many could fairly be cited of whom it could not be denied that the mere record of their lives chronicled a distinct era in the history not only of their country or nation, but of the entire human race; central figures, at least, around which would be correctly grouped the chief historical incidents of their age. In many cases the ultimate effects of their influence for good or evil may even yet have failed to have been fully discerned or made apparent, for it is only when prejudice and prepossession have been toned down or have faded under the influence of time, when the strife of conflicting passions has cooled or ceased, that a fair and unprejudiced estimate can be framed of the work of those, who, standing prominently out from amid their contemporaries, as landmarks in the history of their time, afford conspicuous aim for the shafts of detraction, ever directed at all who would seek to impugn the currently accepted creeds of the multitude.

Towards the traditions and religious beliefs of the East ; public attention has recently been specially directed. The valuable oriental researches of Max Müller and of Martin Haug in the Aryan, of Ewald, Lassen, Renan and other scholars in the Semitic field, have thrown a flood of new light upon the subject, by the aid of which the elucidation of many hitherto doubtful points has been successfully attempted, and which, in assisting the correction of numerous earlier tentative suppositions, now proved erroneous, has tended to soften the hostility of polemic discussion, which a reference to the contested tenets of these ancient creeds could not fail to evoke. That this is due, and in no limited degree, to a juster conception of the origin of the various religions, and to the demonstration of their numerous points of semblance or relation hitherto unregarded or unrecognized, there is every reason to believe; the more so that the patient researches of investigators have assisted the formation of a more sound and accurate judgment of the actual tenets as well as the merits of each creed, in carrying us back to the time when it left its founder's hands and prior to its investment with legendary traditions, and later interpolated dogmas and doctrines.

From its avowed hostility to the Christian religion no creed has perhaps been more widely discussed and criticised, with results more conflicting than that of Islâm ; no character been more diversely judged than that of its founder ; whilst possibly no collection of writings laying claim to "inspired dictation" has ever suffered more, as well from undeserved eulogy as from uncharitable attack—than the Korân of Muhammad.

"When a supreme law of life," justly remarks Ewald in defence of the Talmud, "has been already given, and without troubling themselves about its ultimate foundations, men are only desirous to work it out into detail, and, if necessary, to bring it into actual life by means of a countless multitude of new regulations Similar conditions everywhere produce similar results." Numerous passages dressed in the metaphorical phraseology or hyperbole so often assumed and affected by oriental writers, separated from the context, have been, under a strictly literal construction, travestied and held up to public ridicule as fairly illustrative excerpts of the merits of the entire volume. While, therefore, on the one hand, we may find many sympathetic writers loud in praise of the Korân, it being reputed not only a master-piece of the Arabian language, but "a glorious testimony to the Unity of God," ranged upon the other will be met those who, with implacable hostility not only regard its author as a pure impostor, but (as was said of Keats) as "a half-mad man with a talent for blasphemy." For with the other two religions, the Jewish and the Christian, claiming to trace their

origin to a Semitic source, Muhammadanism equally assumes supernatural revelation and inspiration. If, however, the religions of Greece and Rome be excepted (although even these had a subsidiary supposition of Divine inspiration,) there has, it has been justly said, been scarcely any religion introduced to the world which has not been proclaimed as a direct Divine communication. "Ancient peoples have generally," urges Mill,* "if not always, received their morals, their laws, their intellectual beliefs, and even their practical arts of life, all, in short, which tended either to guide or discipline them, as revelations from the superior powers, and in any other way they could not have been induced to accept them." This was partly the effect of their hopes and fears from those powers which were of much greater and more universal potency in early times, when the agency of the gods was seen in the daily events of life, experience not having yet disclosed the fixed laws according to which physical phenomena succeed one another. Independently, too, of personal hopes and fears, the involuntary deference felt by these rude minds for power superior to their own, and the tendency to suppose that beings of superhuman power must also be of superhuman knowledge and wisdom, made them disinterestedly desire to conform their conduct to the presumed preferences of these powerful beings, and to adopt no new practice without their authorization, either spontaneously given, or solicited and obtained.

In the alleged supernatural inspirations or revelations of the Korân, it is now found that many of the older traditions, both of the Mishnu and of the Talmud, are indeed but reproduced, and are distinctly traceable. "Without Moses, and the prophets, and Christ," urges Möhler, "Muhammad is simply inconceivable, *for the essential purport of the Korân is derived from the Old and New Testaments.*"† This point is not, however, one of those very readily conceded, for while Döllinger, Taylor, Hallam and other writers incline to the opinion that Muhammad may have had some knowledge of Scripture History, of the Talmud, and of some of the Apocryphal Gospels, as well as of some of the principal Jewish and Christian dogmas, they consider that there is no internal evidence to show that he was otherwise than wholly ignorant of the New Testament.‡ There would seem, however, strong confirmatory irrefutable evidence for the belief that

* Essay on "The Utility of Religion." John Stuart Mill, London: 1874.

† Ueber das verhältniss des Islams Zum Evangelium. Möhler. Published 1830. Re-edited Döllinger, 1839. Translation by Rev. J. Menge, Calcutta: Ostell & Lepage, 1847.

‡ See Ueberweg's "History of Philosophy." vol. i. Abraham Geiger: Bonn, 1833. "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen." Also, an article on the literature of Apologetics. "The Mohammadan Controversy," *North British Review*, 1851.

the Korân itself contains innumerable references both to the facts and doctrines of the Old and New Testaments, its revelations being founded in fact on these and professing only to be supplementary to them. Chateaubriand, indeed, in "*Le Génie de Christianisme*" somewhat summarily and contemptuously dismisses the consideration of the subject in the following words:—"Quant au Coran, ce qui s'y trouve de saint et de juste est emprunté presque mot pour mot de nos livres sacrés ; le reste est une compilation Rabbinique."

In the early part of the seventh century, Christianity had made but little progress in Arabia, and its tenets were but little known or but imperfectly accepted and understood even by professing Christians themselves. Some few Christian churches had indeed sprung up, and many proselytes had been made by the Christian anchorites of the numerous conflicting Christian sects scattered throughout the Arabian deserts ; but the main body of the Arab race still continued steeped in the grossest material idolatry. It is the belief of Sprenger, however,* recorded only after most patient and laborious investigation, that a wide-spread Abrahamic† religion (monotheism) was prevalent and had obtained a considerable footing in the peninsula. To this he assigns the name of Hanyferey. Ebionistic Christians had, he considers, still continued to maintain their existence in the Nabathæan wilderness, and were at this time divided into two sects, the Hanifs and the Rakusii. The Hanifs were Essenes, their doctrine was Islâm, and they termed themselves Moslim. Muhammad, he is of opinion, had heard the preaching of Koss at the Fair of Okatz, and it was the result of the latter's instructions that the Prophet later identified himself with the Hanifs.‡ It is hardly necessary to add, however, that this is scarcely a view which has commended itself to, or found, very general acceptance. That the contact with the tenets and doctrines of Christianity had, however, to no inconsiderable extent prepared and paved the way for the enunciation and reception of the abstract idea of one infinitely Exalted Being, which it was the mission of

* *Leben des Mohammed* B.i. C.i. Sprenger. The doctrine of the Hanifs was Islâm, i.e., submission to one God, and they were themselves Moslim, i.e., men characterized by such submission. Their religious book was called "Roll of Abraham."

† "It is singular," says Milman, "That ABRAHAM rather than Moses was placed at the head of Judaism : it is possible that the traditional sanctity which attached

to the first parent of the Jewish people, and of many of the Arab tribes, and was afterwards embodied in the Mohammedan Korân, was floating in the East, and would comprehend, as it were, the opinions not only of the Jews, but of a much wider circle of the Syrian natives." "*History of Christianity*," vol. ii. p. 178.

‡ Ueberweg, "*History of Philosophy*," p. 409.

Muhammad to proclaim, there seems every reason to believe, but as opposed to the rapid acceptance and spread of Christianity itself in Arabia, yet another barrier has been recently ingeniously suggested, namely, a race-jealousy on the part of the elder branch of the Semitic race against a religion which but traced its origin to a rival offshoot of the same family.

"In the course of a few hundred years," says the writer of a very able work, recently published anonymously (of which the authorship is, however, popularly assigned to Professors Thomson and Taft) "we find the whole Roman Empire converted to Christianity, while, however, in Arabia and the East it appears either to have made very little progress, or to have become corrupted into something very different from that which we read of in the New Testament. It had not become the national religion of the Arabs; and we can well imagine that this nation, with their pretensions to be regarded as the most ancient representatives of the Semitic race, would not look kindly upon a religion that took its origin in a rival branch of the same family. We can further imagine that, with such a feeling, they would be very ready to welcome a religious system that should spring up among themselves. Such an opportunity was afforded them by Mohammed. Acknowledging in some measure the claims of Moses and Christ, Mohammed yet claimed for himself and his religion a superiority over his rivals, flattering by this means the vanity of his own countrymen, who considered themselves the elder branch of the Semitic race." *

If M. Renan be excepted, it has been generally affirmed by students of the science of religion, that true monotheism (and such was incontestably the nature of the creed proclaimed by Muhammad) could only have arisen upon the ruins of a polytheistic faith. Under a barbarous symbolistic worship, and the gross excesses of a debased idolatry, the old Sabeian worship of the hosts of heaven, obscured as it had now become, was already tottering to a fall. The slowly awakening belief in the possibility of a future state, the growing yearning desire for the recognition of a personal God, were beginning to make themselves sensibly felt, though it may be they had yet failed to assume a precise or tangible shape in the minds of the multitude. It was not so much therefore the mission of the founder of Islâm to divulge or enunciate any novel or startling doctrine, as to make clear and define that which was already floating, though obscurely, in the minds of the multitude, "to crystallize thought, which had hitherto been held in solution," to give forcible revelation, or

* "The Unseen Universe;" or Physical Speculations on a Future State. London: Macmillan & Co., 1875.

practical expression, to that which had long been unconsciously desired. It has been said of the teaching of the Founder of Christianity that "by substituting the Father in Heaven, for father Abraham, he made morality universal,"* and that "this phrase, which places not a certain number of men, but all men, in the relation of brotherhood to each other, destroys at once the partition-wall between Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, white man and negro, or under whatever names the families of the earth have justified and legalized the savage instinct of antipathy." Nor was this element wanting in the creed of which Muhammad was at length to become the exponent. The absolute equality of every professor of the faith (excepting only the Caliphs or Sultans), the sense of brotherhood, the family membership proclaimed by the Prophet, but above all the equality of every Moslem grafted by spiritual filiation into the great Arab race, aided in no measured degree to render popular the earlier acceptance of Islāmism in its first stages of proselytism, ere the creed which, commenced its career by persuasion, ultimately resorted to enforcement of its adoption at the point of the sword. It was, in fact, this amalgamation of the various Arabian tribes, previously independent, under one faith, one God, one recognized leader, which so singularly favoured the sudden rise and dissemination of the faith, the original "outburst" of Islāmism.

It has been contended by M. Renan, that of all the races of mankind the Semitic alone was endowed with what he terms the instinct of monotheism;† and that though the descendants of Shem may correctly be divided into two great branches, differing from each other in the form of their monotheistic belief, yet both were alike imbued, *ab initio*, with this instinctive faith in one God. This primitive intuition, however, or the ineradicable feeling of, and desire for, reliance and dependence upon some Superior Being, in itself neither polytheistic nor monotheistic (though it might

* *Ecce Homo*. Macmillan & Co. 1866.

"The Christian Church," says the author of this work, "sprang from a movement which was not begun by Christ. When He appeared upon the scene, the first wave of this movement had already passed over the surface of the Jewish nation. He found their hearts recently stirred by thoughts and hopes which prepared them to listen to His words. It is indeed true that not Judæa only, but the whole Roman Empire was in a condition singularly favorable to the reception of a doctrine

and an organization such as that of the Christian Church. The drama of ancient society had been played out; the ancient city life with the traditions and morality belonging to it was obsolete. A vast empire built upon the ruins of so many nationalities and on the disgrace of so many national gods, demanded new usages and new objects of worship.** There was a clear stage," &c., p. 130.

† "Histoire Générale et système comparé des Langues Sémitiques." Par Ernest Renan.

in time become either, as Max Müller has so forcibly argued, according to the expression it took in the languages of men*) has, as has been conclusively demonstrated by the students of the Science of Religion whom we have already named, supplied either the subject or the predicate in all the known religions of the world; and it is contended that, without it, no religion whether true or false, whether revealed or natural, could have had even its first beginning. The worship proclaimed by Muhammad, that of the one Supreme Being alone, monotheistic to its very core,† was indeed no new creed (a calumny which had its origin in, and first emanated from, Constantinople) but a distinct call to the descendants of Ishmael to revert to the purer monotheistic faith, and to the God of their father Abraham. The Arabian prophet's ruling passion, the master-purpose of his life, had been to trample upon, to wholly eradicate and annihilate, the prevalent idolatrous observances and symbol worship of his countrymen, with which he firmly believed that he clearly recognized the more ancient and purer primitive adoration of the one Supreme God of the race to have been obscured and surrounded.

Commencing his career as the prophet of Arabia, it was probably only subsequently (when the extraordinary rapidity of his success favoured and encouraged higher aspirations and assumptions, and permitted the entertainment of loftier if more ambitious projects,) that he convinced himself, that he was indeed, not only the destined prophet of Arabia, but of the whole world. The sudden overthrow of Arabian polytheism so rapidly effected; the annihilation and extermination of the Sabeian idolatry of the province achieved with apparently such exceptional facility, with so small an effort; the combination and amalgamation of the numerous hitherto independent tribes, which had caused to flock to and rally around his standard, numbers far in excess of his most sanguine earlier expectations; the fanatical ferocity inspired in his followers by successful religious conquest and domination, which swept everything before it; alike combined to influence the extension of his views and to favour the belief to which he probably but subsequently attained, that the inspiration which had thus so far auspiciously guided and directed his mission, comprehended a far wider sphere than that of the Arabian peninsula to which his earlier conceptions had at first erroneously limited its application, and that the reformation

* See Essay on Semitic Monotheism in Max Müller's admirable collection of essays: "Chips from a German Workshop." It has been asserted by Keary and others that Max Müller is inclined to obscure his subject by speaking of language as if

it had an independent growth apart from the thoughts of those who employed it. This is certainly not the case in his manner of dealing with this argument.

† Ibid. 487.

of the Jewish and Christian religions equally with the Arabian, was embraced by, and included in, its scope.* The proclamation of Islāmism thus became, therefore, not only a mere iconoclastic protest against the idolatry of the age, but also a formidable and emphatic declaration against its Pantheism and Epicurism, for it insisted alike upon the recognition of a Personal God, and upon that of a future state.† “The truth is come, let falsehood disappear” was proclaimed by the Prophet‡ to all, and although the character of the one Supreme Being, as realised by the earlier followers of Muhammad may not have been of a very exalted type, the syncretistic main doctrine, that of the Unity of God, which he so emphatically and successfully affirmed, could readily be grasped by the meanest capacity, and was intelligible to the apprehension of the rudest intellect; whatever may have been the intellectual place attained by the races to whom the announcement came, often indeed, it may well be, rather as has been suggested, as a precise and formal expression of their own half-formed cruder conceptions, than in the light of a new revelation. And further “it must be added, that his law itself,” writes Mosheim, “was admirably adapted to the natural dispositions of men, and especially to the manners, the opinions and the vices prevalent among the people of the East; for it was extremely simple, proposing very few things to be believed; nor did it enjoin many and difficult duties to be performed, or such as laid severe restraints on the propensities of men—moreover, the consummate ignorance which characterised for the most part the Arabians, the Syrians, the Persians and other nations of the East, gave a bold and eloquent man easy control over immense numbers. We may add that the virulent contests among the Christians, Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians and Monophysites, which filled a large part of the East with carnage and horrible crimes, rendered their religion odious to the eyes of many. And further, the Monophysites and Nestorians, whom the Greeks oppressed most grievously, gave assistance to the Arabians and facilitated their conquest of certain provinces, and thus secured the preponderance of their sects in those regions.”§

• But it was not alone the call to return to the faith of Abraham

* On this subject see Möhler, to whose work reference has already been made.

† Southey's lines upon the state of the soul after death, as believed in by the Muhammadans, will probably be familiar to most of our readers.

“Is thy soul in Zem-Zem well?
Is it in the Eden groves?
Waits it for the judgment blast
In the trump of Isrâfil?
Is it, plumed with silver wings,
Underneath the throne of God?”

Thalaba—the Destroyer.

‡ Al Korân, Chap. 17.

§ Mosheim's “Ecclesiastical History,” vol. i, p. 434.

that had exercised so powerful an influence upon the nomad Arab branch of the Semitic race. Deeply stirred, as by this watchword had been their devotional feelings, their pride of race, the syncretistic character of the new religion, in compelling the destruction of the idols, had at least respected and spared their most holy sanctuary, around which were gathered all the tenderest time-honoured traditions of the race. As in the case of the Jewish people and their Temple, the national existence, the national pride of the Arab race was identified with the inviolability of this sacred building. For centuries ere the advent of Muhammad, devout pilgrims from all parts of Arabia, had flocked to Mecca, the "City of Concourse," situate in the province of Hejaz, the "Land of Pilgrimage." Each tribe or family carrying in its own idols had proceeded to worship them with mysterious rites within the precincts of the sacred sanctuary of the Caâba, or "Square House." "At an awful distance they cast away their garments: seven times with hasty steps they encircled the Caâba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina: and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in consecrated ground."*

Various are the legends regarding the antiquity, the inception, the construction, and the completion of this sacred edifice. According to one, the ancient Kcabê (or Beïth-Mamour, the house of prosperity and felicity) existed prior to the deluge, when it was by angels raised to the heavens and placed perpendicularly above the present sanctuary.† By another legend, to Abraham and Ishmael is assigned the construction of the edifice, whilst a third tradition is cited by Irving, to the effect that the first temple was originally lowered from the heavens (composed of radiant clouds), and placed (at the supplication of Adam,) immediately below its prototype in the celestial paradise—that it re-ascended to the clouds at his death, when a facsimile was constructed by Seth, which perished in the deluge.‡ The miraculous stone, which, sinking and rising as

* See Note by Dr. W. Smith in "The Student's Gibbon;" he adds, "the antiquity of this celebrated temple at Mecca ascends beyond the Christian era. It is mentioned incidentally by Diodorus, who speaks (iii 43) of a famous temple between the Thadumites and the Sabeans, whose superior sanctity was revered by all the Arabians. It enjoyed from the earliest times the rights of

sanctuary; and the same rites which are now accomplished by the faithful Musulman were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolators," p. 451.

† Southey.

In his "Apology for Mohammed and the Korân"—Davenport assigns its erection to 2,000 years before the Christian era.

‡ Irving's "Life of Mahomett."

required, served Abraham for a scaffold in its erection, remains one of the priceless relics of the temple, whilst the print of the patriarch's foot is still seen by the true believer who visits this ancient shrine. In the destruction of the 360 idols (subordinate to the Black Stone, and representing the days of the Arabian year) which was effected at the capture of the Caâba by Muhammad, about the year 630 A.D., this was, it is said, reverently spared.*

The more famous stone of the temple, however, known as "the Black Stone," has had assigned to it a still more romantic origin. Once a single jacinth of dazzling whiteness, its colour has now become blackened with the kisses of multitudes of sinful penitents. Originally the guardian angel of Adam in paradise, it fell therefrom with him, in punishment of the neglect which had permitted his fall. Tradition has it, that of this the life will be restored at the Judgment, and this angel-witness will then bear testimony for those Moslems who have faithfully performed all the rites of pilgrimage. It is at present inserted in the south-east corner of the exterior wall of the building, where it is kissed by the pilgrim on each occasion of his circuit of the Caâba. Set in silver, and raised about four feet above the ground, it is reverently said to have been placed in its present position by the hands of Abraham and of Ishmael.† In addition, however, to the idolatrous worship of blocks of stone, the Arabs in the "times of ignorance," as they not inaptly term the years preceding their Prophet's advent, had not escaped from the usual primitive worship, the earliest form of superstition, that of the deification of the celestial bodies of the firmament, and of natural phenomena. The fixed stars and planets whom they, as Sabeans, worshipped, were, there is reason to think however, by them believed to be either the creations of, or subordinate as inferior deities to, one Supreme Lord of the Universe.—Allah-Taâla. The angels also, who as intercessors or mediators, were objects of adoration, shared with the hosts of heaven and that of their images, the worship of this race. These minor deities being all termed "Al-Ilahât" (or, the goddesses), for it would seem that the Arabs still retained some traditions of a national supreme deity, the ancestral God of their race, ‡ that of their father Abraham; although the mere names of natural phenomena had also in due course, as with the Aryan races, become thus gradually obscured, personified and deified.

* "Idumæa;" or Arabia and the Arabians.

† On the worship of shapeless or conical blocks of stone, see, "Philosophy of History," Schlegel. See also Palgrave's "Central and Eastern

Arabia," p. 258.

‡ Sale's "Korân." Preliminary Discourse. According to D'Hierbelot, however, the female angels were termed Benad Hasche or Daughters of God.

Nor does this, indeed, seem matter for surprise, considering how general has been such deification of nature-gods with all the earlier races. "On the wide-spreading plains of western Asia, in the warm cloudless Assyrian night, with the lamps of heaven flashing out their radiance in uninterrupted splendour from the centre to the boundless horizon, it was no wonder" writes the author of *Sarchedon* "that students and sages should have accepted for deities those distant worlds of fire on which eyes, brain, hopes, thoughts, and aspirations were nightly fixed, the guides of their science, the exponents of their history, the arbiters of their fate. Man's intellect felt elevated and purified by scientific communion with the Book of Fate as written on the luminous pages of the sky, while his soul seemed scarce debased by an adoration that lifted it, at least, to the visible and material heaven. While the rude camel-driver, as he travelled by night through the trackless desert, relied, no less than the early mariner, for progress and safety on the stars; priests in their temples, kings in their palaces, consulted the same changeless, passionless, inscrutable witnesses, for the web of policy, the conduct of warfare, the furtherance of love, desire, ambition or revenge. Ere long, by an inevitable process in the human mind, the instructor of their course came to be looked on as the originator of events; and that which began with an assumption that it could foretell, was soon credited with the power to bias, to prevent, or to destroy. Then arose an idolatry which seemed irresistible to the noblest nations of the ancient world, which, notwithstanding their own sublime creed, possessed a strong fascination for the chosen people themselves; Yav, Nebo, Bel and Ashtaroth,* came to be worshipped as living deities reigning and revealing themselves through the planets that bore these names." But in addition to the Sabeian astral worship,

* Jupiter, Mercury, Saturn, and Venus.

A belief that the stars are either spirits or the vehicles of spirits was common to all the religions and heresies of the East. See "The Loves of the Angels."—*Moore*.

The following lines of Mrs. Hemans, regarding astral worship, are probably familiar to many of our readers:—

Shine on! and brightly plead for erring thought,
Whose wing, unaided in its course, explored
The wide creation, and beholding nought
Like your eternal beauty, then adored
Its living splendours, deeming them inform'd
By Nature, tempered with a holier fire—
Pure beings, with ethereal effluence warm'd,
Who to the source of Spirit might aspire,
And mortal prayers benignantly convey
To some presiding Power, more awful far than they.

[From "Superstition and Revelation," an unfinished poem.]

and to the symbolic idolatry which, as has been stated, was so widely current in the Arabian peninsula in the earlier part of the century, as also to the influence of the Christian sects and churches (to which reference has already been made), other subtle causes had been gradually at work in disturbing the minds and in undermining the erratic polytheistic creeds of the masses, in the influx and settlement of large numbers of Jews in the province, and in the contact with Magianism, which latter, no doubt, owed its introduction to the increased intercourse with Persia. In the purer monotheistic worship, and in the extermination of idolatry, which was proclaimed by Muhammad, the judicious discretion which had been evinced in respecting the traditional sanctity of the Caaba, was still further made apparent in the abstention from all interference with the oriental belief in angelology, which had taken so firm a hold upon the Semitic mind. Nor was this all. The permitted and authorized incorporation of numerous current ideas then floating in the East, did much to aid the popular reception of the new doctrines. That for some of the inceptions of the Koran, its author is indebted to Jewish and to Magian, as well as to Christian teaching and traditions, ample evidence has been adduced by Sale and other students to show; and the later toleration evinced by Muhammad for all of those sects who are termed, "people of the book," (*i. e.*, those claiming to themselves possess a written revelation from heaven,) upon their payment of an annual tribute, in lieu of their compulsory or enforced absorption into the Islâmic faith, whilst it tended not only to aid the spread of the new doctrine of Islâmism proclaimed, undoubtedly widely influenced and checked the expansion of Christianity, which an intolerant or bigoted persecution might probably rather have fostered and augmented. In fact, to its syncretism, or the integral blending of the different sects and systems current in the East in a harmonious combination or whole, was, beyond question, due much of the popular favour which later commended Islâmism to, and gained for it, so wide and general an acceptance.

Educated and reared in the precincts, or at least in the vicinity and atmosphere, of the Caaba, of which Muhammad's family were now the hereditary guardians, the influence of Nestorian precepts and teaching was early brought to bear upon a mind already predisposed towards serious religious contemplation and reflection. At the age of 13, whilst accompanying the caravan of his uncle, Abu Taleb, Muhammad had, it would appear, encountered at Bosrah, a town south of Damascus, a Nestorian monk, named Bahira (or Sergius) who, struck with the unusual precocity evinced by the lad, had devoted much pains to his instruction in the tenets of the Nestorian faith, in the hope of rescuing him from the idolatry in which he found that he had been reared. Later,

also, the instructions of Waraça,* a Jew, who had become a Christian, and was one of the most learned Arabs of his day, exercised no inconsiderable influence in moulding the Prophet's mind; and to these teachers may have been due the instillation of many of its Nestorian tendencies, evidenced by the incorporation of ideas which are said to be distinctly traceable to, and to derive their inception from this source, in the Korân. There were also at the time many Nestorians from Syria resident as physicians amongst the Arabs, whilst Hareth Ibn Calda, later the friend and physician of Muhammad, was himself a Nestorian. Of the secular education of the Prophet, but little is known. That he could neither read nor write seems probable, though such ignorance of script would not at that time have been remarkable or singular, for although the tribe of Hamyar in Yemen is said to have possessed a rude alphabet, which was not generally taught, contemporary evidence would tend to show that all the pagan Arabs of the Ishmaelitish stock (not excluding the Koreish tribe to which Muhammad owed his descent), were without the knowledge of letters previous to the introduction of the Cufic character in which the Korân was first written.† Muhammad, indeed, himself advances no pretensions on this score, as he was wont to describe himself as "the illiterate Prophet."‡ Yet that his mind was, through frequent travel and contemplative study, well-stored with a vast fund of information, his conversation graceful and eloquent, his memory retentive, his imagination fertile, and his genius inventive, there is ample evidence adduced to show. His ordinary discourse, though somewhat grave and sententious, abounded, says Irving, with those aphorisms and apologues so popular amongst the Arabs. Although, therefore, it may be true that he was illiterate in the ordinary acceptation of the term, the genuine nobility of mind, which enabled him to tower above his fellows, and to become their recognized and accepted guide and leader, towards a nobler and higher inward life; to give such forcible yet eloquent expression to sentiments and feelings so deeply in unison and sympathy with, if somewhat in advance of, their own, which through so many generations and with such various races has caused his memory to be tenderly treasured and revered by so large a section of the human race, has established his claim to recognition as no ordinary genius, and, however much the admitted errors of his life may be deplored, he has fully earned a title to recognition as

* Son of Naufal and cousin of the Prophet's first wife Cadijah.

Waraça could not only write in the Hebrew character, but is said to have been the first translator of the Scriptures into Arabic.

† On this subject, see an excellent

and able article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," on Muhammad, also Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History."

‡ "Koran," Chap. 7. See also Suras 29 and 46.

one who possessed most of the qualities which are regarded as constituting the highest excellence. "At the distance of twelve centuries," says Gibbon, "I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of Mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia." It has ever been rather in this selection of particular episodes of his life, than in the impartial judgment of it as a whole, that Muhammad has been so severely handled by his critics. That there are circumstances of his career which, from our present stand-points of morality could not be defended, may be allowed; but regard should rather be had to the manners and customs, the habits of thought and of life current in the age in which he lived, and amongst the races by whom he was surrounded, would we attempt to frame a fair unprejudiced estimate of his character. It has indeed been plausibly suggested that his very offences against morality, which form perhaps the principal basis of invective and hostile criticism, themselves afford the best evidences of his sincerity, and that he was often compelled, in deference to the prejudices and passions of his followers, to employ the very vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. Though we may dissent from his conception of true religion and morality, may condemn and reprobate many and various personal acts of his career, may hold that many of his alleged doctrines (as they have reached us) are perversive, his views erroneous, his lapses into crime unpardonable, (in the light of the morality of the nineteenth century), we are, whether reluctantly or otherwise, alike forced to admit, that he stands out as a religious reformer of no mean pretensions; that, however acquired, his views and aspirations were noble, and far in advance of those ordinarily current in Arabia and many parts of the East in the early part of the seventh century, and that, while his example tended to reclaim, and his precepts to ennoble, the idolatrous life of the age, they were the primal and initial cause of a revolution on the face of the globe, of which the present effects are still apparent twelve centuries after his decease, and the ultimate, in the future, are, even now, incapable of computation. "How is it possible" urges Möhler, "that a religious fire, wild though it were, which in so astonishingly short a period set all Asia in flames, could proceed from one in whom the kindling material had no real existence?"

Upon the origin of the name Muhammad, of the date of its assumption, as of its interpretation, authorities differ; for whilst Gibbon, Irving, Davenport and other writers accept the common belief in its bestowal by the grandfather (Abdul Motalleb) at a feast 7 days after the child's birth, Sprenger asserts, that it was

but an official designation assumed by the Prophet as the founder of the new religion, and that according to an old tradition, he had been originally named Kotham, but afterwards Abul Kassim (father of Kassim) after his eldest son, and that it was himself only who claimed to be Muhammad, *i.e.*—"The Extolled."* He is also by Draper mentioned as Halibi.† The name Muhammad is variously rendered or translated as "The Praised," "The Extolled," "The most Glorious," and "The Glorified." As a youth his steadiness and the reliance which could be placed upon his dealings, is said to have earned for him the cognomen of El Amin, "The Faithful," or "The Trustworthy." By his earlier detractors he was stigmatized as Abu Cabsha (son of Cabsha), in ridicule of the monotheistic nature of his teaching, which was thus contrasted with that of Cabsha, one of the Koreish tribe, who had endeavoured to induce its members to abandon the polytheistic astral worship of the host of heaven for that of Sirius alone. According to Sprenger and others, Muhammad also not only declared himself the Messiah announced by the Thorah, but asserted that in the Gospel his name was Ahmad, *i.e.*—"The Paraclete, (the Comforter), and that Abraham had called him, and the son of Mary had foretold his coming.‡

From the romantic halo of pious legend which has gradually gathered around, encircled and enveloped almost every event and incident of a by no means uneventful life, it is no easy task to eliminate bare facts, to reject and dis sever the accessories of fond traditionary fiction. The avowed revelations, the very sayings of the Prophet as recorded in the Korân, have admittedly failed to reach us in the *ipseissima verba* of his alleged inspired diction. Even the order of their enunciation is not now accurately ascertainable, nor are there any very precise or definite means of possible elucidation of the attendant circumstances under which in every case they emanated, or which presumably called for their promulgation. By the admission of the Muhammadans themselves, there appear to be no less than 225 passages which were distinctly abrogated by fresh revelations.§ Further, the transposition has been so great that the passage which has obtained general acceptance as that first revealed, will be now found placed at the 96th chapter or sura, in its first five opening lines. When, however, the mode and method of compilation of the sacred volume is considered, it will afford matter for

* Sprenger, vol. 1, p. 155 *et seq.* Ueberweg's "Hist. Philos." Leben des Muhammad.

† "Conflict of Religion and Science," § Renan, Prideaux and Milman. See also admissions in chap. 2 of the Draper. Korân.

‡ *Ibid* vol. 1, p. 155, and 166

surprise, not that considerable obscurity and confusion of ideas should occasionally prevail, but that the Korân has even reached us as a harmonious conception at all. Revealed only at intervals, the inspired revelations were either recorded by an attendant disciple upon, fragments of skins, upon palm leaves, or upon blade-bones of sheep, or, (as was probably more often the case) they were not, at the time, recorded at all, being merely tenderly treasured in the memory of those to whom they were addressed, for future record. Many of the passages, moreover, were doubtless intended to be taken not literally but hyperbolically, in ordinary oriental fashion.* "The harmony and copiousness of style," says Gibbon "will not reach in a version, the European infidel: he will peruse with impatience the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds." It was not until two years after the Prophet's death that an attempt was even made at compilation, by Abu-Bekr, the successor of Muhammad, and an entire revision of the work was again effected by the Caliph Othman in the 30th year of the Hegira. According to the Muhammadan doctors, however, the Korân existed together with the decrees of God, from all eternity. "It was engraven on a table of stone, hard by the Throne of God, and called the *preserved table*; but God sent the angel *Gabriel*, with a transcript of the entire Korân down to the lowest heavens, where during 23 years the latter revealed it by parcels to *Muhammad*; that Muhammad caused these parcels to be written down by his scribe, as they were received, and published them at once to his followers, some of whom took copies, while the greater part got them by heart: that the original MSS. of the scribe, when returned, were thrown promiscuously into a chets, whence they were taken after the Prophet's death and published collectively, in their

* This is the case not only with the Korân, but is common to all oriental literature. See an admirable Excursus, on the Talmud by Dr. Farrar, in his "Life of Christ." "Anything more utterly unhistorical than the Talmud cannot be conceived. It is probable that no human writings ever confounded names, dates and facts, with a more absolute indifference

* * As for events, they are in the language of a profound and admiring student 'transformed for the edification, and even for the amusement of the audience. History is adorned and embellished by the invention of

an imagination, poetic but often extravagant; truth is not sufficiently attractive, everything is magnified and extended.' p. 485 Though the Korân contradicts the received Scriptures both in regard to some matters of fact and several important points of faith and practice, speaking generally, it does homage to the great facts upon which the Jewish and Christian religions are based. Its brief but comprehensive confession of faith is described by Gibbon as composed 'of an eternal truth and a necessary fiction' that there is only one God, and that Muhammad is the apostle of God.

present form and order, which is wholly without regard to dates, or a classification of subjects.”* “The substance of the Korân,” says another writer, “according to Muhammad or his disciples is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the essence of the Deity and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlasting decrees. A paper copy, in a volume of silk and gems, was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who successively revealed the chapter and verses to the Arabian prophet, &c.”

Reference has already been made to the much vexed question of the alleged adaptation or repetition in the volume, of Jewish and Christian traditions and sayings; but to attempt to offer a *resumé* of the opinions for and against such inference, would be not only wholly foreign to the scope and aim of the present article, but would exhaust the patience of our readers to no purpose, in the discussion of a point, the penultimate settlement of which will probably never admit of attainment. It will be sufficient, therefore, to refer those desirous of pursuing further investigation of this matter to the works already cited, and more particularly to that of Weil, which offers considerable additional information upon the earlier incidents of the Prophet's life.† Of the sacred volume, or Al Korân itself, there are no less than seven principal editions, according to Sale, of which two were published and used at Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa, a fifth at Bosrah, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh, termed the vulgar or common edition.‡ The work has no less than 114 chapters, though in the manuscript copies these are not distinguished by their numerical order. How far any of the ideas enunciated in the Korân were wholly new or were due to imitations derived from the canonical and uncanonical writings of the Old Testament, would prove a question the difficulty of the solution of which cannot be over-estimated. In the Christian New Testament itself, it has been recently demonstrated, after most careful examination and analysis by Mr. D. C. Turpie, in his work “The Old

* Note by Tr. “Institutes of Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern.” Mosheim. James Murdock, D.D., also Sale. Pre. Dis. iii. p. 77-95.

† “Muhammad der Prophet.” Sein Leben und seine Lehre. Stuttgart.

‡ There is according to Sale some discrepancy in the number of the verses in these editions ranging from 6,000 in the first to 6,236 in the fourth, but they are all said to contain the same number of words 77,639, and the same number of letters 323,015. It is singular that this fancy for careful computation of statistics of sacred

literature should have existed amongst the Aryan as well as the Semitic races. In a “Lecture on the Vedas,” by Max Müller, delivered at Leeds in 1865, there occurs the following passage:—“As early as about 600. B.C., we find that in the theological schools of India every verse, every word, every syllable of the Veda had been carefully counted. The number of verses, as computed in treatises of that date, varies from 10,402 to 10,622; that of the words is 153,826, that of the syllables 432,000.”

Testament in the New," that there are no less than 275 passages which may be regarded—"all but a few of them quite indisputably," says Dr. Farrar, "as quotations from the Old."*

The birth of the founder of Islâm is by tradition said not only to have been foretold, but to have been heralded by various supernatural signs and portents. Amongst others, the following may be cited as indicative of the readiness of the oriental mind to accept the belief of supernatural intervention in mundane affairs. Amina the mother of the Prophet, is said to have, in a dream, seen a stream of light proceeding from her body, the lake of Sâma was suddenly drained of its waters, the palace of the King of Persia was by an earthquake shaken to its very foundations, the sacred fire of the Magi, which had flamed uninterruptedly for 1,000 years, was suddenly extinguished, whilst the river Tigris overflowed its banks and inundated the surrounding country. The later miraculous angelic cleansing of the child's heart from the black drops of original sin; the emanation of mysterious light from his exceptionally fair countenance; the mole placed upon his shoulders as the seal of a Divine selection; the singular love for communing in solitude evinced; and, above all, the elevated and eloquent character of his youthful discourse, are reverently cited as confirmatory evidence of a Divine mission and inspiration † which his rigid habits of asceticism but tended to confirm.

It has been truly said by Tennyson that "a slow developed strength awaits completion in a painful school." Throughout the early years of his life the seclusion and asceticism of Muhammad had fostered a tendency to habitual depression of spirits and to morbid melancholy, whilst long continued abstinence and fasting had still further subdued his active genius to its dreamy and ecstatic influence. In his solitary rambles in the ravines of Mecca, in his retirement during the Ramazan to the lonely grotto of Mount Hira, the melancholy recluse had ample time for contemplative reflection, for the gradual development of the grand hope which had irresistibly taken so firm a hold upon his fervid imagination, that of reclaiming his people from the gross idolatry into which he felt that they had lapsed. For it was not, in fact,

* See "Excursus," xi. Old Testament quotations, Dr. Farrar's "Life of Christ."

Such facts give force to, and enable us to realise the justice of, the remark of St. Augustine. "Res ipsa, quæ nunc religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera religio,

quæ jam erat, cœpit appellari Christiana. August Retr. 1. 13.

† On the relation of ignorance and superstition in past times, to miracles and the influence of science in dispelling belief in supernatural interference with the natural action of physiological laws. See "Supernatural Religion," vol. 1, chap. 6.

until he had attained the age of forty years that he proclaimed his mission as a reformer of his race.

That his physical depression and suffering were most severe there is ample evidence to show—and though the assertion that he was even subject to fits of an epileptic character, has been treated as a calumny by Gibbon, the testimony collected by Sprenger and Weil would seem to necessitate the belief that it was not unfounded upon fact. "The Eastern asceticism," says Dean Milman, "outbid Christianity in that austerity, that imposing self-sacrifice, that intensity of devotion, which acts with the greatest rapidity and secures the most lasting authority over rude and unenlightened minds. * * On the cold tablelands of Thibet, in the forests of India, among the busy population of China, on the burning shores of Siam, in Egypt and in Palestine, in Christianized Europe, in Muhammadanized Asia, the worshipper of the Lama, the Faquir, the Bonze, the Talapoin, the Essene, the Therapeutist, the Monk and the Dervish, have withdrawn from the society of man, in order to abstract the pure mind from the dominion of foul and corrupting matter. Under each system the perfection of human nature was estrangement from the influences of the senses—those senses which were enslaved to the material elements of the world, an approximation to the essence of the Deity, by a total secession from the affairs, the passions, the interests, the thoughts, the common being and nature of man. The practical operation of this elementary principle of Eastern religion has deeply influenced the whole history of man" *.

In the case of the prophet, the terrible depression and despondency during his severe fasts resulted in hallucinations of the senses, which induced a belief, on his part, that he was subject to demoniacal possession, and which frequently led him to the contemplation of self-destruction.† Over such sorrows, it is needless to linger, and charity and discretion would alike induce us to draw the veil. Although he believed himself tempted of demons, he was not, he thought, left wholly without the aid of angels, and the first visit of the angel Gabriel marked an era in his life. It will be sufficient to say upon this subject, in the words of Draper, from whose work we have already quoted—"that

* "History of Christianity," Milman, vol. iii, 275.

† Bacon has somewhere said that, "whilst religion invigorates a sound mind and cheers a sound heart, it has the contrary effect in the case of a morbid disposition, in which it often breeds noisome superstitious, grotesque imaginations, and even monstrous fancies. The fault not being in reli-

gion, but in the diseased mind which is subject to its influences. In this he compares religion to the sun in its effect upon live and dead animal substances, which, whilst in the one case it invigorates, cheers and promotes the functions of life, in the other, it but induces corruption and decay." Goulborne.

perhaps there has never been any religious system introduced by self-denying earnest men that did not offer examples of both supernatural temptations and supernatural commands."

At the age of 25 the marriage of the Prophet with his employer, a Syrian trader, a wealthy widow of Mecca, named Cadijah (or Chahdizah), suddenly raised him to a position of wealth and affluence from one of comparative poverty.* The faithful discharge of his duties as her factor, the symmetry of his person, the eloquence of his conversation, had alike tended to favorably dispose towards him the heart of his mistress, then a comely widow of 40 years of age, and at length, when anxiously watching the return of a caravan of which he was in charge, her wavering indecision gave way, when as she affirmed she witnessed, hovering over the head of her factor, two angels, who with their wings over-shadowed and guarded him from the sun's rays. No longer could she doubt that this was "the beloved of Alla," as of herself, and she assumed the initiative in opening the negotiations which were concluded only by what proved an extremely auspicious union. Despite the polygamous license of the age, she was, for the remaining 24 years of her life, without a rival, and it was only after her decease that the Prophet contracted the various marriages (many doubtless influenced by political, financial and other considerations), which have brought upon him, and overwhelmed him with, such floods of adverse and bitterly hostile criticism. It is a singular fact that, with the exception of Ayesha, (a daughter of Abu-Bekr), although Muhammad is believed to have contracted from 15 to 17 marriages in all, none of his numerous wives were other than widows.†

To his marriage with Cadijah, Muhammad had owed his advancement to a position, whence at least the expression of his views or opinions would command respect, yet for the next 15 years of his life but little is known of either. That his marriage was, however, extremely opportune, and influenced his entire career, there seems every reason to consider the case. Cadijah is affectionately spoken of after her decease by her husband as one of the only four of her sex who had attained perfection, the other three faultless women being Asia, wife of Pharaoh, Mary, the mother of Christ, and Fatema, the daughter of the Prophet; and it is narrated that when asked by Ayesha, a younger bride, if God had not given him a better wife (in herself) to replace his first, Muhammad answered: "No, by God, there never can be

* The sole possessions which had reverted to him on the decease of his mother (576 A.D.) had been a female Abyssinian slave (Oumm-Ayman) and five camels.

† Strictly speaking, perhaps exception may be taken to this statement in the case of Zeinab, wife of Zeid. See chap. 33. "Korân."

a better," she believed in me when men despised me, she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted by the world."* It would seem that during the years which immediately followed his marriage, Muhammad had still continued to trade, and it is affirmed by Sprenger, as has been stated, that it was during one of his visits to the fair at Okatz for this purpose, that the Prophet had heard preached, by Koss, the doctrines of the Unity of God and of the resurrection of the dead, which took so powerful a possession of his soul. There can be no doubt but that during these years his own plans were slowly, but surely maturing, and that his mind was assuming the final resolve which ultimately advanced him to the leadership of the movement having for its main object the overthrow of polytheistic idolatry. "Moses and Muhammad," says M. Renan, "were not men of speculation; they were men of action. It was in proposing action to their fellow countrymen and to their contemporaries, that they governed humanity."† And there is no doubt much truth in this view, yet, upon Muhammad alone, it must be considered, was not wholly dependent the entire movement, all the necessary conditions for the appearance of which were already present at his advent. "In the mind of man," it has been truly said by Professor Tyndall—"we have the substratum of all ideals. We have there capacity which will as surely and infallibly respond to the utterances of a really living soul, as string responds to string when the proper note is sounded. It is the function of the teacher of humanity to call forth this resonance of the human heart: and he is no true teacher who does not possess a life within himself competent to call forth responsive life in others. But the possibility of doing so depends not wholly and solely upon him, but upon the antecedent fact that the conditions for its appearance are already there."‡ It is upon this point that we should specially dwell when we would consider the unprecedented success of the Founder of Islâm. The strength of the diffusive thought had now had time to work and spread. The pent-up, as yet perhaps almost unconscious, desire of the multitude had at length found practical expression. It needed but the touch, the call, of some commanding intellect, such as that of Muhammad, to cause this feeling to burst all bounds, to shiver to atoms, and to sweep way in the torrent of its resistless course, the senseless symbol worship of blocks of stone, the debased,

* Southey thus describes his marriage with Cadijah:

Fragrant odours flowed upon the world,
When at Mohammed's nuptials, word
Went forth in Heaven, to roll,
The everlasting gates of Paradise
Back on their living hinges, that its gales
Might visit all below: The general bliss

Thrilled every bosom, and the faintly
Of man for once, partook one common
[Joy.]

† Renan's *Life of Jesus*. Chap. iv.
‡ On "Crystals and Molecular
Force." A lecture delivered at Manchester, 1874. Prof. Tyndall,

degraded polytheistic idolatry of the age. Few, who impartially review the history of such a life, but will admit that they have before them the record of the career of no cool, moody dreamer, plotting with diffident or frigid heart his own personal advancement or ambition, but rather that of an ardent, earnest, sanguine human being, inspired with a lofty purpose, with a stern resolve; a man intensely influenced and moved by powerful convictions, and, who once convinced of the truth of the abstract conception of the Unity of God, unflinchingly pursued its inculcation and adoption by others as an ever-present aim, prosecuting it alike in adverse fortune, or in the bewildering mazes of unprecedented success; and although we may find him after his earlier battles in the intoxication of his success, uniting in patriarchal union spiritual and regal powers, and addressing not only the sovereigns of Arabia, but those of Persia, Egypt and Abyssinia, claiming to be the Apostle (or Messenger) of God, those who desire fairly to judge so chequered a career will follow the shepherd to the end—to the hour when, at the summit of his glory, surrounded by 114,000 devout followers, he made his last “valedictory” pilgrimage to Mecca, and with his own hand offered up the customary sacrifices to the God of his fathers, proclaiming to those who accompanied, and were prepared almost to deify him, his own unworthiness before the One God to whose recognition he had been the means of leading his entire race. “I am nothing,” boldly avowed the Prophet, “I am nothing but a public preacher! I preach the Oneness of God.”

In Muhammad himself, and in his followers, the abstract idea of the one, infinitely Exalted Being to whom alone worship was due, led to the enthusiasm of a quickly-blazing fanaticism. “This fanaticism,” says Ueberweg, in his note on Sprenger, “pitilessly annihilated all resistance, but its subjects were unable to appreciate in their full significance and to cultivate the many forces and influences of actual human life; they failed to recognize the resemblance of the Divine in the Finite; they lacked the power to bring the sensual nature of man under that discipline which would make it ancillary to morality, and were obliged therefore, either to govern it despotically, or to leave it under the unchecked influence of passion, while no alternative was left to the rational spirit but the mechanical subjection of an unreflecting and fatalistic faith, to the will of Allah and to the revelation of Himself as made through the prophet.”

All the past of Time reveals
A bridal dawn of thunder peals,
Wherever Thought hath wedded Fact.*

and the new faith was not destined to make its way unopposed or

* Tennyson.

without bloodshed. The acceptance of Islāmism, in fact, involved no inconsiderable change in the habits of a people singularly unaccustomed to it, and of proverbial and exceptional independence. For, although it may be true, that there was no sacerdotal class whose interests were affected, and there appears to have existed a singular freedom and immunity from all clerical or priestly guidance and control in spiritual as in secular affairs; it would further seem, that although the hereditary guardianship of the Caâba was recognized by the Arab races, it was so, rather as a tribe distinction and privilege, than as conferring or inferring any sacerdotal succession, or other than secular and temporal functions. Yet there were numerous tribal and other powerful interests at work militating against the favorable acceptance of the change to Islāmism. The rejection, by Muhammad, of offers of wealth and of leadership, made in the hope and with the purpose of inducing him to abandon or relinquish the purpose of his life, led to a recourse to all manner of persecution which was unscrupulously adopted. Nor will it be matter of surprise, that of all the opposition encountered, that of his own tribe (the Koreish, which was that most interested in any change of existing institutions,) should have been the most vehement.* Upon the earlier difficulties of his prophetic career, however, space will not admit that we should linger. Of these an admirable summary is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (8th edition), to which we would refer our readers. It was only in the forty-first year of his age or about the year 611, A.D., that he at length publicly averred that he had received, in a divine communication, his mission; and though the progress of proselytism was very slow, he was weak enough still further to retard and impede it by giving way to the demands of some of his more sanguine followers for the assertion of miraculous signs and communications. It was only in the 12th year of his mission, that he at length affirmed, that he had been conveyed by the angel Gabriel, in a nocturnal journey, (Isra) upon Borac to Jerusalem, whence they had together passed through the six heavens, till, as Muhammad alone entered the seventh, "a shiver filled his heart, and he felt upon his shoulder the touch of the cold hand of God."† The more charitable may be disposed

* Korân. Chap. 41.

† Such course does not, however, appear exceptional in earlier ages nor is it without some precedent, even with Christian literature and legends.

"Speaking of the writings of the first ages of Christianity itself, Dean Milman remarks (in his *History of Christianity*) as follows: "That some of the Christian legends were deliberate forgeries can scarcely be questioned; the prin-

ciple of pious fraud appeared to justify this mode of working the popular mind: it was admitted and avowed. To deceive into Christianity was so valuable a service as to hallow deceit itself. *But the largest portion was probably the natural birth of that imaginative excitement which quickens its day-dreams and nightly visions into reality.* The Christian lived in a supernatural world; the notion of the

to regard such hallucinations in the words of Dean Milman, as "the natural birth of that imaginative excitement which quickens its day-dreams and nightly visions into reality" rather than as deliberate and wilful inventions for the mere purpose of strengthening his claims; but they undoubtedly cost him the secession of numerous followers who were unprepared to proceed to such lengths in their recognition of his assumptions to divine guidance and inspiration. In this* and the following year some important conversions to the new faith, however, took place at Yathreb, and the proselytes having come in to Mecca, were secretly met by Muhammad at Al-Akaba (a hill to the north of the city), and there took the famous oath of fidelity to his cause known later as "The Woman's Oath" (being that which was later administered to women) and by which, says Sale, "they were not obliged to take up arms in defence of Muhammad or his religion, in contradistinction to the oath which later bound all males to his cause. It is probable that flight had even now been determined on, for Muhammad in return for their protestations, equally swore fidelity to them and agreed to accept their offer of a promised asylum in the event of his expulsion from Mecca, giving to them the assurance of paradise† should their lives be forfeited in his defence, or through adhesion to his cause. Of this refuge, as it proved, he was only

Divine power, the perpetual interference of the Deity, the agency of the countless invisible beings which hovered over mankind, was so strongly impressed upon the belief, that every extraordinary and almost every ordinary incident became a miracle, every inward emotion a suggestion either of a good or an evil spirit. A

mythic period was thus gradually formed, in which reality melted into fable, and invention unconsciously trespassed on the province of history —iii. p. 358.

See Supernatural Religion. vol. 1. p. 199. on this subject; also p. 3.

* Known as "The Accepted Year."

See Sale.

† We quote Byron's famous description of the Muhammadan paradise to be attained by those falling in battle:—

But him the maids of paradise
Impatient to their hails invite,
And the dark heaven of Hourî's eyes
On him shall shine for ever bright;
They come—their kerchief green they wave,
And welcome with a kiss the brave!
Who falls in battle 'gainst the Giaour
Is worthiest an immortal bower.
But thou, false Infidel! shalt writhe
Beneath avenging Monkir's scythe;
And from its torment 'scape alone
To wander round lost Eblis' throne;
And fire unquenched, unquenchable,
Around, within, thy heart shall dwell;
Nor ear can hear nor tongue can tell
The tortures of that inward hell!"

paradise" says Gibbon "every pleasure that can gratify the senses, awaits

too soon to have need, for the formation of a wide-spread conspiracy against his life compelled him shortly after to seek safety in flight, warned, says tradition, by the dove or pigeon which conveyed to him so many of his supernatural communications.* This flight of the Prophet (the Hejira or Hijra) to Yathreb (later known as Medinat al Nabi—City of the Prophet—or Medina) was, 17 years later, fixed by the Caliph Omar as the Great Moslem epoch, and still marks the lunar years of Muhammadan nations. According to the Moslem estimate of distinction, however, it is worthy of remark, every century of the Muhammadan era has been ushered in by the appearance of some great man, whose brilliant superiority has entitled him to the homage of his contemporaries; and, at the head of this list, they accord the first place to the Prophet himself, the founder of Islâm.†

Sixteen days only after his flight from Mecca, the Prophet made a public entry into Medina, where he was joyously welcomed by those who had, as stated, taken the oath of allegiance at Al-Akaba, and pledged themselves to his cause, and from this period we find that, having once thus been compelled to draw the sword, he flung away the scabbard. In the fervour of his religious enthusiasm he affirmed that the Almighty fought for the cause, and that three thousand angels (led by Gabriel, mounted upon his horse Hiazum), though unseen, contributed their aid to the success of Bedr, and secured to his side, as God's Apostle, a triumphant victory, and though a reverse was later sustained at Ohod in the same year (624) at which it is admittedly doubtful if Muhammad was himself present, the later battle "Of the Nations" confirmed the previous success and decided several of the already wavering tribes to acknowledge the Prophet's supremacy. It is not till 4 years later, however, when his power had become somewhat consolidated, that he is found venturing to commence to

the faithful. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls of resplendent beauty, will be created for the use of the meanest believer, who will dwell in palaces of marble, clothed in robes of silk and surrounded by the most costly luxuries.

* "The Moslems have a tradition that Muhammad was saved (when he hid himself in a cave in Mount Shur) by his pursuers finding the mouth of the cave covered by a spider's web, and a nest built by two pigeons at the entrance, with two eggs unbroken in it, which made them think no one could have entered it. In consequence of this, they say, Muhammad

enjoined his followers to look upon pigeons as sacred, and never to kill a spider."—Modern Universal History, vol. i.

† Caliph Omar Abdolasis, 2nd century, the enlightened Alma-Moum in the 3rd, Obeidoollah Mehdi (who founded the Fatimite dynasty) in the 4th, Kadirbillah the last great Caliph of the Abassides in the 5th, the Grave Saladin in the 6th, Genghis Khan, the Mogul conqueror in the 7th, Othman in the 8th, and the terrible Timour in the 9th. Lastly Soliman I. the tenth Sultan of the Ottomans in the 10th.—See "The Ottoman Empire," p. 107.

address sovereign princes and potentates. In the year 629, an attempt of his troops to cope with those of the Eastern Roman Empire entailed a serious defeat at the hands of Theodore, Lieutenant of Heraclius; and so slow was even yet the advance that it was only in the following year (630) that possession of Mecca and of the Caâba could ultimately be secured. There are other events, however, connected with this portion of the Prophet's life which cannot be passed over in silence. The death of Cadijah and the advancement of his fortunes had now permitted to the Prophet the exercise of a libidinous license, which it is to our minds so difficult to reconcile with the exalted character and assumptions of his mission. It would seem that at about this time the number of his actual wives had been increased to 15. Yet he had, contrary to Arabian usage, taken to wife also one Zeynab, the wife of Zayid, his adopted son, and had given great offence not only to his followers, but within his own domestic circle, by continuing his intercourse with Mary,* a Coptic slave, to whom he had granted her freedom, not disdaining to justify his predilections by recourse to the promulgation of scriptural warrant in attempting to give to his conduct the colour of supernatural sanction.

The possession of Mecca, of the Caâba itself and with it of the sacred Zem-Zem well† however, which had enabled Muhammad to strike at the very root of the polytheistic worship of the nation in the destruction of the 360 idols of the temple, gave to the religious movement a permanent stability, such as it is not possible it could otherwise have acquired in the hearts of the people, the more so that, as already related, the Prophet had wisely respected the traditional sanctity of the building, and had incorporated many of the ancient customs and observances with those of the new faith, nor did he abstain from personally enjoining and performing all the time-honoured rites which custom and immemorial tradition had alike endeared to the national observance, his own familiarity with which had doubtless been acquired

* See Chap. 33 & 66 of the Korân respectively—Moore, in *Lalla Rookh*, thus refers to the latter episode:—

And here Mohammed, born for love and guile,
Forgets the Korân, in his Mary's smile;
Then beckons some kind angel from above
With a new text to consecrate their love."

See also Gagnier's *Notes upon Abulfeda*, p. 151.

† Supposed to be the well revealed by the angel to Ishmael, when he was perishing with thirst:—

Each drop they quaffed,
Like Zem-Zem's spring of holiness, had power
To freshen the soul's virtues into flow'r!—Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.

in youth, during residence with his uncle, one of the hereditary guardians of the sacred edifice. It will be apparent that the change, therefore, which he inaugurated neither necessitated nor imposed a harsh rupture with the whole of the older worship, although involving so important a modification of it. It thus became recognized as the proclamation of no new creed, but rather as the reversion to one having the additional claim and sanction of antiquity in preference to that obscured by later innovations. It not being in fact urged upon the Arabs that they should abandon a national faith or worship, but rather that they should, having obtained a juster conception of its purport, more closely follow the original purer faith and that which had been inculcated by their fore-fathers, from which it was asserted that they had departed.

To the founder of Islâm it was not, however, given to witness any of its later triumphs, and it would seem improbable that he could even have at that time dimly discerned or foreshadowed the ultimate effects of a success so unprecedented as that achieved in its subsequent vicissitudes. He survived the capture of the Caâba but two years, during which he continued to reside at Medina, and though thus elevated by success to the highest pinnacle of ambition, the quiet simplicity of his life and manners, the abnegation of self displayed, inculcated an example of which the profound effects upon the lives of his followers through all generations can scarcely be over-estimated. Of the simplicity of the doctrine taught there can be little question. According to Sale the religion of Islâm (of resignation or submission to the will of God) may be divided into two distinct parts, *Imân*, *faith* or theory, and *Dîn*, *religion* or practice, it being built on five fundamental points, one of which only appertains to faith.

Under the head of the confession of faith, however, *viz.*, “that there is no God but the true God, and that Muhammad is his Apostle,” there are comprehended no less than six distinct branches, which are briefly as follows :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Belief in God. | 5. In the Resurrection and |
| 2. „ in His angels. | Day of Judgment. |
| 3. „ in His Scriptures. | 6. In God’s absolute decree and |
| 4. „ in His prophets. | predetermination of both |
| | good and evil. |

As relating to practice, the four points are briefly—

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Prayer (which com-
prehends ablutions and
purifications required
before prayer.) | 2. Alms. |
| | 3. Fasting. |
| | 4. The pilgrimage to Mecca. |

The Muhammadans also entertain a belief in a personal devil,

whom Muhammad terms Eblis, from his *despair*, and in Gin or Genii, of grosser fabric than the angels.* Two guardian angels attend each man to observe and record his daily actions, an idea (probably borrowed from the older Jewish traditions of the Ferver and Guardian Angel) to which Longfellow has given such beautiful expression, in his *Legends of the Rhine*, in the lines commencing :—

There are two angels that attend unseen
Each one of us, and in great books record
Our good and evil deeds, &c.

Space however compels us to refrain from a further examination of the tenets and beliefs of Muhammadanism, and we must bring our remarks to a close.

“In the progress of the human race” it has been said by the author of a work upon the Ottoman Empire from which we have already quoted, “certain periods are distinguishable in which animating and elevating principles have been peculiarly active. Such eras in the affairs of mankind have been usually marked by the concurrence and grouping together of great events and of great characters. Towards these brilliant epochs as so many centres, the general history of the world naturally converges, and from them its future developments are deducible in intimate connection.” The age of Muhammad is one of these remarkable periods. As Draper has shown in his excellent work upon the conflict between religion and science, the rise of Muhammadanism was in a great measure due to the then prevalent dispute with respect to “the nature of God.” He treats of this indeed as the first open struggle between science and religion, the first or southern reformation, of which the important and immediate result was no less than the wrenching and severance of much of Asia and Africa, with the historic cities of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Carthage from Christendom, whilst the doctrine of the Unity of God was thus established in the larger portion of what had been the Roman Empire: and he goes on to affirm that this political event was followed by the restoration of science, and by the establishment of colleges, schools, and libraries, throughout the dominions of the Arabians. Those conquerors, pressing forward rapidly in their intellectual development, rejected the anthropomorphic ideas of the nature of God, remaining in their popular belief, and accepted other more philosophical ones akin to those which had long previously been attained to in India. That a new era commenced for the nations of the East with the advent of Muhammad, there are few impartial historians who will now deny. The many noble and sublime views enunciated in the Korân, however or wherever acquired, have influenced for good in no measured degree a large

* See Sale, Section ix. *Pre. Dis.*

section of the human race, and although the conception of One Supreme Superior Being which it conveys may have been limited, and scarcely in accord with that which has received later acceptance, we must ever remember the prevailing darkness of idolatrous gloom from which such inception emerged, would we seek to fairly consider its merits, or to form an impartial judgment of the character and life of Muhammad, the enunciator of the Moslem creed, the Founder of Islâm.

W. B. BIRCH.

ART. IV.—THE INDIAN EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY QUESTION.

WE do not propose, in the following pages, to enter into a detailed discussion of the future prospects of the silver market. For while, on the one hand, the fall that has already taken place in the price of the metal is so serious, and has persisted so long, as to make the question of a remedy one of urgent and paramount importance, on the other hand, the time and space at our disposal will be amply occupied with the treatment of that question. Nor, involving, as it would, the consideration of so many unknown elements, is it likely that such a discussion would be of much avail.

While the known conditions all point in one direction, the unknown conditions will be most prudently ignored. Extensive and extending demonetisation of silver in Europe; diminished capacity for its absorption in Asia; discoveries of large deposits of the metal in America,—all these are circumstances which point to heavy and prolonged depreciation. The new mines may, it is true, be exhausted sooner than has been anticipated, and a limit thus be imposed upon the fall; or fresh gold mines, of equal or greater productiveness, may be discovered, and the value of silver thus be raised in relation to gold, at the expense of a yet greater degradation of the purchasing power of money generally. But these are contingencies upon which it would be unsafe to reckon, and which must not be allowed to affect our calculations.

When Canute, in spite of the assurances of his courtiers, sought safety in retreat as soon as the waves of the incoming tide began to wash his feet, an earthquake in some remote region might have opened up a new bed for the ocean in time to prevent its overwhelming him. But Canute wisely determined to be guided by what he saw and knew, and not to trust for his safety to what he could not foresee.

The position of the Government of India at the present moment seems to us not unlike that of a man upon the sea-shore, waiting, with folded arms, for the inflowing tide to overwhelm him. To argue with such a man, even against the probability of a sudden subsidence in the bed of the ocean, would be waste of time. To point out to him the urgency of the danger and the best means of avoiding it, would be the first impulse of any one who wished to save him.

The cause of this inaction on the part of the Government is not improbably to be found less in any expectation of a favourable turn of fortune, than in an exaggerated sense of the difficulty of the problem to be dealt with.

Certain it is that a profound misapprehension of the true conditions of that problem underlies much of the reasoning which the crisis has called forth. It seems to be tacitly assumed that it is rupees that India gives in exchange for the goods or gold of Europe; and this strange misconception prevails in spite of the well-known fact that, practically, India does not export a single rupee, but is an importer of silver, as well as goods and gold. It seems to be forgotten that the rupee is a mere medium of exchange, changing hands in the country, as a means of transferring purchasing power, but not going out of the country; and that in the existing state of trade, this purchasing power consists entirely in the produce of the country, the value of which in relation to gold, or foreign produce, has, essentially no connection with the value of the silver in the rupee, and possesses such a connection accidentally only owing to the operation of our existing coinage-law.

There is one most important point, in connexion with the problem of the exchange* value of the rupee, which, if it has not been entirely overlooked, has scarcely, it seems to us, been stated with the clearness, or obtained the attention, which it deserves. We refer to the circumstance that the conditions which determine that value, while the currency is an open one,—that is while, by taking standard silver to the mint, any private individual can obtain its equivalent, less a certain small percentage as cost of coinage, in rupees,—are superseded by an altogether different set of conditions the moment the currency becomes a close one.

Broadly stated, this difference may be expressed by saying that, with an open currency, the exchange value of the rupee is ultimately determined by the comparative values of gold and silver, while, with a close currency, it is ultimately determined by the purchasing power of the rupee.

To be more explicit. It is obvious that the greatest quantity of gold which, under any circumstances whatever, the merchant can, in the long run, afford to pay, in London, for a given number of rupees supplied to him in Calcutta, is the quantity of gold which the produce purchasable with those rupees in Calcutta will exchange for in London, less costs and commercial profit. If, for instance, a hundred rupees will purchase in Calcutta, forty maunds of rice; if this forty maunds of rice sells in London for sixteen sovereigns; if the costs of the transaction amount to £5; and if the normal commercial profit on the money invested is £1-10, then the greatest sum, in the shape of gold in London, which, under

* Throughout the following pages, we have employed the terms "exchange value of the rupee" to express the value of the rupee for the purposes of foreign exchange.

any circumstances, the merchant can, in the long run, afford to give for the hundred rupees supplied him in Calcutta, is £9-10. But, though this is the greatest sum which, under any circumstances the merchant can, in the long run, afford to give, it does not follow that, under any given circumstances, he will give this sum. For what he will give under any circumstances, will be what he is compelled to give, and no more.

Now, with an open currency, the sum the merchant can be compelled to give, will depend ultimately upon the comparative values of gold and silver, and, for any given ratio of value between the two metals, will vary from time to time, within certain narrow limits, according to the comparative demand for the means of remittance from India to London, and from London to India respectively. For, it is obvious that, as long as any private individual can, by presenting silver at, say, the Calcutta mint, and paying a small fee for coinage, obtain its equivalent in rupees, the merchant cannot be compelled to give, for a hundred rupees in Calcutta, a larger sum of gold in London than it would cost him to purchase the silver required for their coinage and defray the charges of transporting it to Calcutta and getting it coined there. To put the proposition in the shape of a general formula: If the value in London, in pounds, of the silver required for the coinage of a hundred rupees is x , and if the cost of transporting it to Calcutta, inclusive of interest and insurance, together with the cost of getting it coined there, is a , then the greatest sum of gold that the merchant can be compelled to give, in London, for a hundred rupees supplied to him in Calcutta, is about £ ($x + a$).

On the other hand, it is equally evident that the holder of the rupees will not take for them a smaller sum of gold in London, than that which he could obtain there for the silver contained in them; less the cost of transporting them there and disposing of them as bullion. That is to say, if the cost of transporting a hundred rupees to London and disposing of them there as bullion, is a , then, the value of the silver being, by the previous supposition, x , the smallest sum of gold which the holder of a hundred rupees in Calcutta will take for them in London, is about £ ($x - a$). Between these two limits, determined by the comparative values of the two metals, and the costs in either case, the exchange value of the rupee will, practically speaking, vary, being less, according as ~~the~~ demand for the means of remitting money to London is greater, and greater, according as the demand for the means of remitting money to India is greater.

Such is the state of things with an open currency. It follows that, with such a currency, the exchange value of the rupee will correspond with its purchasing power only when that purchasing power is in equilibrium with the price of silver. It follows also

that, since, in such a state of things, the exchange value of the rupee falls immediately in sympathy with a fall in the price of silver while on the other hand, the purchasing power of the rupee in India falls indirectly, in the way hereafter pointed out, and much more slowly, a fall in the price of silver will be attended, in the first instance, by a greater or less disparity between these two values. And this disparity will operate to the aggrandisement of exporters of Indian produce and to the detriment of importers of foreign produce into India. While it lasts, the exporter of Indian produce will derive more than the normal commercial profit from his transactions ; and this, it is noteworthy, he will do, to a great extent, at the cost of enforced remitters to England,—pre-eminently of the Secretary of State,—who, being themselves unable to embark in trade, are compelled to part with their rupees at their exchange value, determined by the gold price of silver, and irrespective, for the time being, of their purchasing power. But this is a part of the subject into which we propose to enter more at large hereafter.

We have seen, then, that, with an open currency, the exchange value of the rupee is determined, not by its local purchasing power, but by the gold price of the silver contained in it ; varying between that price plus the cost of transporting silver to Calcutta and minting it there, and the same price less the cost of transporting rupees to London and selling them there as bullion ; and that it will tend towards the former, or towards the latter limit, according as the remitter to England, or the remitter to India commands the market. We have also seen that, as the fall in the exchange value of the rupee, following a fall in the price of silver, is direct and rapid, while the consequent depreciation of its local purchasing power is indirect and comparatively tardy, every fall in the value of silver is followed by a period during which this purchasing power is in excess of the exchange value of the rupee, and the exporter obtains an undue benefit from the disparity.

With a close currency, the state of the case is very different. The moment the Government of India stopped coining rupees for private individuals, it would cease to be possible for the merchant to obtain them by presenting at the mint a fraction more than the silver required to coin them. He would then have to get his rupees from those who held them, or to go without them. The quantity of gold which he could then be compelled to pay in London for a hundred rupees, supplied to him in Calcutta, would no longer be limited by the quantity for which he could obtain the necessary silver for their coinage, transport it to Calcutta, and get it coined there. He must get his rupees from those who held them, or not at all, and he could get them only by paying their market value for them.

If he did not choose to pay the price demanded for bills on

Calcutta, there would be two alternative courses open to him. He might export gold to Calcutta and purchase rupees with it; or he might export silver to Calcutta and purchase rupees with it; but he could no longer call upon Government to stamp his silver with an artificial value, and thus confer upon it a purchasing power not naturally belonging to it, by converting it into rupees.

It may, perhaps, be argued that a third alternative would be open to the merchant, and that he could export produce to Calcutta, and purchase rupees with it. But it will, I think, be obvious, on a moment's consideration, that this last alternative is excluded by the nature of the case, for the quantity of produce imported into India is, in the long run, determined by her capacity to absorb it at prices which will yield a fair commercial profit; and as, under the present conditions of Indian trade, the quantity she is capable of so absorbing, is much less than the equivalent of the quantity she exports, there must always, under these conditions of trade, be a balance which it would be comparatively less advantageous to the merchant to supply in goods than in gold and silver; and this balance it is with which we have to deal in considering the question of the exchange value of the rupee. The only result of an attempt to supply this balance, or any portion of it, in commodities which the country does not demand, instead of in the precious metals which the country does demand, or in other words, to substitute goods for gold and silver as a means of remittance, would be to glut the market and rapidly destroy the margin of commercial profit on such goods, thus turning the scale still further in favour of the precious metals.

The only alternatives that need be considered, at least for the present, are, therefore, the exportation to India of gold, or of silver, for the purchase of rupees. Now, whether the merchant exported gold or silver to India, the quantity of the metal which he would have to give for the rupee would be no longer that contained in it, or the equivalent of that contained in it, as the case might be, plus the cost of coinage, but that which the rupee, as a rupee, was worth. In other words, it would be determined, not by the silver value of the rupee, but by its actual purchasing power on the spot.

Things which are equal to the same thing, being equal to one another, the quantity of gold or silver bullion which the rupee would buy on the spot, would be the equivalent, for the time being, of the quantity of rice, wheat, tea, indigo, or any other commodity that it would buy on the spot. Supposing, as before, that a hundred rupees would purchase in Calcutta forty maunds of rice which would sell in London for £16; supposing all the costs of the transaction to be £5, and £1-10 to be the fair commercial profit on the venture, then in the long run, a hundred rupees supplied

in Calcutta, would be worth at the most £9-10 paid in London, and the maximum amount of gold or silver bullion which a hundred rupees would purchase in Calcutta, would be the equivalent of £9-10, less the total cost of transporting the gold or silver to Calcutta. Stating the proposition in a more general form: x being the quantity of gold which the commodities purchaseable in Calcutta with a hundred rupees, would sell for in London, and p being the profit and costs of the transaction, then $x-p$ would be the maximum quantity of gold which a hundred rupees in Calcutta would purchase in London; and the cost of transporting $x-p$, to Calcutta being a , then the greatest quantity of gold which a hundred rupees would buy in Calcutta would be $x-(a+p)$. If, again, the equivalent of x gold were X silver, and the cost of transporting X to Calcutta were a then the maximum possible value of a hundred rupees in silver bullion would be, in London, $X-p$, and in Calcutta $X-(a+p)$.

More than this: as long as the amount of gold offering in London for rupees in India was in excess of the amount of rupees offering in India for gold in London; in other words, as long as the demand for the means of remittance from London to India was greater than the demand for the means of remittance from India to London, competition would tend to keep the exchange value of the rupee up to this maximum, whatever the price of silver might be. Not only would the exchange value of the rupee thus tend constantly to an equilibrium with its purchasing power, but *as long as no addition was made to the currency*, the purchasing power of the rupee, and its exchange value along with it, would, *ceteris paribus*, be sustained, no matter how much further the price of silver might fall. The only result of the fall would be, that the rupee would purchase a greater quantity of silver, and that the value of all other commodities, as measured by silver, would be proportionately greater than before. Further, the exchange value of the rupee and its local purchasing power being thus brought into equilibrium, the export and import trades would also be brought into equilibrium, and the exporter would no longer have any advantage over the importer.

An amusing letter appeared, some weeks since, in the correspondence column of one of the local journals, the writer of which, among other things, inveighed against the absurdity of any attempt to obtain for the rupee more than its bullion value, as being nothing more or less than an attempt to induce England to "swop" her precious gold against the worthless silver of India. This curious idea is worth noticing, only in so far as it furnishes a forcible illustration of the ignorance that prevails regarding the true conditions involved in this exchange question.

It can scarcely be necessary to point out that, when an English merchant pays a certain sum of gold for a hundred rupees in India, what he acquires is, not the mere silver contained in those hundred rupees, but their entire purchasing power, whatever it may be; and, as far as the question at issue is concerned, it is not of the slightest consequence to him how that purchasing power has been created. When the price of silver has remained for any length of time at or about a certain level, trade has adjusted itself on the basis of that price, and the purchasing power of the rupee is in equilibrium with its bullion value. When, on the other hand, the price of silver has undergone a sudden fall,—say—to one half its former stable value,—the purchasing power of the rupee is, on the instant, about twice as great as its bullion value; and though, in the course of time, supposing the price of silver to remain fixed at its new level, this purchasing power will, through the operations of trade, fall, till it is again brought into equilibrium with its bullion value, the process is, as has been already pointed out, a comparatively slow one. Throughout the interim, the buyer of rupees acquires more, and at first about a hundred per cent more, purchasing power than the silver contained in them is worth; and consequently any arrangement which enables him to obtain them for their silver value, simply enables him to obtain them for about half what they are really worth, and, having obtained them, to demand of the country, for a certain amount of gold or silver, just twice as much of its produce as that gold or silver is worth.

Such an arrangement is that which, by allowing any one to have silver coined into rupees at the mint, places it in his power to drive down the exchange value of the rupee to the value of the metal contained in it, and thus, in the case of such a fall in the price of that metal—to adopt the somewhat inelegant expression of the writer already referred to,—to swop England's gold or silver against twice its equivalent in India's rice and wheat.

At the risk of some repetition, perhaps not entirely superfluous, we will go back and consider more in detail the effect which a considerable fall in silver may be expected to have upon the trade and upon the revenue of India, with an open and a close currency respectively.

The *Economist* has lately devoted several articles to a consideration of the probable effect of the present depreciation of this metal upon the trade of India, and upon the financial position of the Government, under existing currency arrangements. Though not exhaustive, the view set forth in these articles is, no doubt, correct as far as it goes; and it embraces nearly all the points which there is any immediate necessity for considering.

The writer points out, in the first place, how the present low

rates of exchange operate as a direct premium on the exportation of Indian produce. He might have taken the opportunity to explain, at the same time, that, as indeed his subsequent arguments imply, it is not merely because the rates are low that they have this effect, but because, owing to the price of silver having fallen suddenly, they are, for the time being, low as compared with the purchasing power of the rupee in India. For it must not be forgotten that, as far as regards the comparative advantage to exporters and importers the price of silver is in itself of no importance whatever, provided only that it is constant. When, however, the price of silver has for a considerable time preserved a certain average level, of—say—60 pence per ounce, the equation of trade has been effected, and the purchasing power of the rupee has settled itself, on the basis of that price. Under such circumstances, should the price suddenly fall to—say—50 pence, the exchange value of the rupee, with the present coinage regulations, immediately following it, while, on the other hand, its purchasing power is not directly affected, the exporter starts with an advantage of about 10 pence worth of purchasing power for every ounce of silver he gets coined. He brings 50 pence worth of silver to the mint, and, by paying about a penny for coinage, he gets from the mint rupees that will purchase somewhat more than 61 pence worth of commodities. Or if, instead of going to the mint, he buys bills on India, he buys them at a rate which gives him a rupee for about what he can get it coined for. A thousand pounds, exported to India, as the *Economist* goes on to explain, will go further than before in buying bills on India, that is, it will lay down more rupees than before, in—say—Calcutta; and this increase is so much extra profit to the exporter.

A series of conditions will then be set in operation, the ultimate tendency of which will be to re-establish the equation of trade, and equilibrate the purchasing power and exchange value of the rupee, by reducing the former. The extra profit will, as a necessary consequence, attract a larger quantity of capital into the export trade, and there will be a larger demand for Indian produce for export. This increased demand will in itself tend to raise the rupee prices of Indian commodities, while the increase in the quantity of those commodities supplied to the home markets will tend, at the same time, to diminish their gold price in those markets. A twofold cause of diminished profits will thus be at once brought into play. On the one hand, a smaller quantity of produce will be obtainable here for a hundred rupees; on the other hand, a smaller quantity of gold will be obtainable for a given quantity of that produce in London. The local purchasing power of the rupee will fall, and the quantity of gold against which the produce purchaseable here with the rupee will

exchange in London, will fall in a greater ratio, owing to the simultaneous fall in the price of that produce there. This twofold cause alone would bring about a gradual approximation between the silver value of the rupee and its purchasing power;—between its actual exchange value, dependent on that silver value, and what its exchange value would be if determined by its purchasing power.

But, *pari passu* with these causes, another set of correlated causes would come into operation, tending in the same direction. Not only would the quantity of produce exported from India be greater, but also its aggregate value in the home markets would be greater than before; and, the quantity of imports into India not in the meantime increasing, but the contrary, the balance annually payable to India in silver would also be greater. A larger demand would thus be created for that metal, the price of which in London would, *cæteris paribus*, be raised thereby, while the corresponding influx of silver into India would at the same time tend to bring about a corresponding fall in the local value of the rupee. Thus we should have—in India, the price of commodities rising owing to increased demand, and the value of the rupee falling in consequence of increased supply; and, at home, the prices of Indian commodities falling in consequence of increased supply, and that of silver rising, owing to increased demand. The resulting tendency would consequently be not merely for the purchasing power of the rupee to gravitate towards its silver value, but for the two values to seek a common level from opposite directions. Equilibrium between the two would, always supposing that the fall in silver was not progressive, be ultimately attained at some point between the previous purchasing power of the rupee and the minimum price to which silver might have fallen in the *interim*.

The effect of the fall in the value of silver on the trade of India would, therefore, as the *Economist* says, be only temporary, in so far as, after a certain interval, all disturbance of the rate of mercantile profit, or of the normal ratio between imports and exports, would cease. It must not, however, be forgotten that, before equilibrium could be thus established, India herself would have suffered a greater or less permanent loss. For, during the whole of the intervening period, she would have been steadily parting with her produce at a greater or less sacrifice, corresponding, as just pointed out, with the difference between the purchasing power and the exchange value of the rupee. She would, in other words, have been, day by day, exchanging her produce for quantities of silver smaller than those for which it would have exchanged had it not been for the intervention of the rupee,—smaller in a continually diminishing ratio, it is true, but, nevertheless, throughout the

period of disturbed equilibrium, smaller. And for this loss she could never, by any possible means, recoup herself.

For this loss to the country, the Government, which gives the exporter *carte blanche* to have his silver stamped with what has become an artificial value, without exacting from him any equivalent for the addition, is responsible.

Now, it must strike most persons as a very serious question, whether, on grounds of public justice, the Government is not thus guilty of a grave wrong. The rupee having, by an accident, been rendered much more valuable than the silver contained in it would be without the Government stamp, that Government stamp becomes, *ipso facto*, a trust held by the Government on behalf of the people, which trust it is virtually robbery of the people to betray. It has become, in effect, an order for the surrender of a certain amount of produce without any equivalent return; and to give away that order to any one for the asking, is simply to give him a license to plunder the people to whom the order is addressed.

But if, on grounds of public justice, such a course is a grave wrong, it is also, in the case of the Government of this country, on grounds of self-interest, a stupendous folly. For the Secretary of State, being the principal holder of the rupees available for gold in London, is himself the first, and individually the heaviest, loser by it. It is he who, with his own hands, cuts his own throat. It is he who is guilty of the egregious simplicity of saying with one voice: "Here I have crores of rupees, representing so much purchasing power, to dispose of; give me the equivalent of that purchasing power, in gold, that I and my people may live," and with another voice: "Here I have crores of rupees, representing so much purchasing power, and consequently so much gold, to dispose of; but as I also have mints where you can get the same thing for twenty per cent. less, it is not worth your while to pay me more than four-fifths of its value." That, in effect, is what the Secretary of State lately said when, with the mints at Bombay and Calcutta still open, he refused to let his bills go for the exchange value of the rupees represented by them. True, he made a show of attempting to checkmate the merchant by borrowing in London; but it was a foregone conclusion that such a course, being a mere temporary palliative, which in no way touched the root of the evil, must sooner or later fail.

The only course which would have been effectual was one of a totally different character. This, however, is a point which belongs more properly to the consideration of the effect of the fall in silver on the financial position of the Government.

In the above account of the effect of the fall on the trade of

India, it has been assumed that the annual drawings of the Secretary of State will not exceed their present amount, or, at all events, that they will not increase to such an extent as to absorb the whole, or nearly the whole, of the increment to the balance annually due to India, in consequence of the disparity between her export and her import trade. It is, however, quite conceivable, if not very probable, that the case should be otherwise. The Home charges might increase to an extent corresponding, or more than corresponding, with the increase in the excess of Indian exports over Indian imports. It is needless to say that, if such were the case, that great importation of silver on which the *Economist* depends to restore the equation of trade, would not take place, the Indian treasuries supplying the additional number of rupees required by the exporter for his purchases. Though, no doubt, the larger number of rupees thus brought into circulation would cause a general rise in the prices of produce, it is doubtful whether the rise would be more than temporary, while it certainly would not be great enough to extinguish the advantage to exporters, as compared with importers, and re-establish a state of equilibrium between the purchasing power and the silver value of the rupee. Under such circumstances, it seems, there would be nothing to prevent the loss to the country, arising from the disparity, recurring again and again as long as the coinage regulations which compel the Secretary of State to part with his rupees for their silver value, remained in force. The probability of such a state of things obtaining is, perhaps, not very great; but the fact that, with the peculiar relations subsisting between India and England, it might obtain, places in a strong light the serious disadvantages which those relations entail upon the former country, and the obligation under which the Government lies to do its utmost to mitigate them. It is observable, too, that in any case, the larger the portion of the debt annually due to India that is absorbed by the Secretary of State's drafts, the longer, *ceteris paribus*, will be the time required for the trade to right itself after any given fall in the price of silver.

It now remains to consider what, with an open currency, must be the effect of the fall in silver on the financial position of the Indian Government. The *Economist*, in its article on the 5th February, says: "The effect, therefore, of the fall in the value of silver on the trade of India will be temporary only, but its effect on the financial position of the Indian Government will continue as long as the fall lasts. The Indian revenue is received in silver, and, therefore, the less far silver goes in buying, the poorer will the Indian Government be. And this is of more instant importance to the Indian Government than almost any other, because its foreign payments exceed those of other Governments, and

these payments are made in gold. It has to pay interest in gold on a very large debt in England, to pay home salaries, maintain home depôts, and buy English goods and stores all in gold; and the less valuable silver is in comparison with gold, the less effectual for these necessary purposes will the Indian revenue be."

It is, I suppose, due to the circumstance that it was not within the purpose of the writer of the *Economist's* article to suggest a remedy, that the above somewhat inadequate account of the injury with which the Government of this country is threatened by the fall in the price of silver, contains no hint whatever that he is aware that what links the exchange value of the rupee to the price of silver is solely the existing Indian Coinage Law.

He speaks throughout of the rupee and of silver as synonymous.

In respect of the rupee regarded as a means of purchasing gold in England, this view of its relation to silver is at present practically correct. With the existing coinage law of India, a given number of rupees are, to the Secretary of State, and to others who have to use them as a means of remittance to England, nearly the same thing as the quantity of silver they represent. When, however, we come to regard the rupee as a means of purchasing commodities in India, this view of the case ceases to be tenable. For, though the ultimate tendency is towards equation in the latter case as well as in the former, time is in the latter case a most important, while in the former it is a comparatively unimportant element. The relation between the silver value, the value for the purposes of foreign exchange, and the local purchasing power of the rupee may be very correctly illustrated by a physico-mechanical simile. Suppose that there are three chambers A, B and C, filled with vapour, of which A and B are connected by a comparatively large aperture, and B and C by a comparatively small valve. Now, whatever may be the relative tensions of the vapour in the different parts of this system at starting, it is evident that, after a greater or less interval, the condition of the entire system, if not interfered with from without, will have become one of equal tension, and that this will be its normal condition. On the other hand, it is important to observe, that, whereas any disturbance of the equal tension between A and B can be only momentary, a disturbance of the equality of tension between C and the rest of the system will subsist for a greater or less period, according to the dimensions of the valve connecting B and C. If, for instance, the tension in B is suddenly raised above that in A, or the tension in A depressed below that in B, equilibrium will be immediately restored by the practically free flow of vapour from B to A. But, as between the chambers B and C, the case is very different. Under the most favourable circumstances,

that is, if the valve between B and C is free to open in the right direction, the restoration of equilibrium between the vapour in these two chambers will be comparatively slow. Thus, if, while the tension throughout the system is equal, a sudden diminution is created in that of the vapour in A, equilibrium between A and B will be immediately restored, and the tension in these two chambers will remain, for a greater or less period, lower than that in C. So also, if a sudden diminution of tension is created in C, though the tension in all three chambers will be ultimately equated, and though that between A and B will be equated every instant, the tension in C will remain for a greater or less period below that in A and B. Now the purchasing power of the rupee in India is in the position of the vapour in the chamber C, while its exchange value and its silver price are in the position of the vapour in the chambers B and A respectively. The valve between B and C represents the operations of trade, and the large aperture between A and B represents the power of the merchant to get silver converted into rupees, held constantly *in terrorem* over the head of the Secretary of State. In proportion as the operations of trade are large and prompt, the period required to restore equilibrium between the local purchasing power of the rupee and its exchange and silver values will be short; in proportion as they are small and slow, that period will be long. To extend the metaphor, it may be said that the valve is weighted by the Secretary of State's drawings. The tendency of the whole system is towards equilibrium, and, when left for a considerable time undisturbed by external causes, that is its natural condition. But while, after a disturbance, equilibrium is promptly restored as between the exchange and silver values of the rupee, it is much more slowly restored as between these values and the purchasing power of the rupee. During the interval, to treat rupees and silver as synonymous, is, as regards the principle involved, scarcely less incorrect than it would be to treat paper money and the paper of which it is made as synonymous.

The Government of India receives its revenues in rupees; and if the price of silver has lately fallen, it receives in those rupees what, for the purposes of internal exchange, is worth more than the silver contained in them, and loses that excess value when the Government seeks to use it for the purposes of foreign exchange, only because, along with it, the Government holds out to the buyers the option of getting the same thing made for themselves in any quantity at the mints.

As matters at present stand, however, the mode in which the *Economist* states the case is but too near the truth. Whatever, may be their value on the spot, as measured in commodities

and whatever be the amount of gold for which those commodities will exchange in London, the twelve or fourteen crores of rupees which the Government has to remit home are practically just so much silver bullion and nothing more. The lower the price of silver falls, the less gold it will get for them. If the silver in the rupee were to fall to-morrow from one and eight pence to four pence, though a hundred rupees would still buy forty maunds of rice, and those forty maunds of rice would still fetch £16 in London, the Government, should it persist in its present policy, would get for its hundred rupees only about a hundred four pences, or £1-13-4.

Moreover, as the *Economist* points out, the loss would last as long as the fall itself lasted. Trade would right itself in the course of time, the local purchasing power of the rupee falling till in equilibrium with its silver value. But the only difference this would make in the unfortunate position of the Government, would be that it would deprive the Government of the power of applying a remedy, which it might have exercised while the purchasing power of the rupee was still unaffected.

We need not point out that a much smaller loss than this would compel the Government either to apply a remedy or abdicate its functions.

But really the prospect for the Government is much more serious than the *Economist* represents it to be. For though, as regards the depreciation in the price of silver, it loses only on its home remittances, as regards the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee, which must inevitably follow, should that depreciation prove permanent, it must ultimately lose on all its payments. For all kinds of materials it will have to pay more and more, as fast as the fall takes place; for the inferior kinds of labour, bought from day to day in the open market, it must presently have to pay more, as wages rise; and, though it may continue for a longer time to resist the demands of the Services for higher wages, the time will come when, in all but the more highly paid appointments, it will be compelled to submit to such demands also.

Were it possible for the Government to raise its taxes, or were its taxes of a kind which would spontaneously rise, to an extent corresponding with the fall in the purchasing power of the medium in which they are paid, the evil would be easy of remedy, or would remedy itself. But, instead of this being the case, nearly half its revenue is derived from rent which is fixed, either for ever, or for periods of greater or less duration, in coin.

The final catastrophe with which the Government of India is threatened, is, in short, one which it must avert if it would avoid bankruptcy. More than this, the nature of the calamity is such, that every day passed in inaction is so much ground permanently

lost. The remedy loses definitively a certain portion of its efficacy for every hour that its application is deferred.

What the remedy is, no attentive reader of the foregoing pages can, we think, have failed to see. Though silver has fallen in price, the annual produce of India has lost nothing of its value. The rupees in which the Government of India receives its revenue, represent a certain portion of that value, which is transferred when they are sold. The Government of India, along with other holders of rupees, has a right to expect that value for them, neither more nor less, when it sells them. Moreover, not only has the Government of India a right to expect, but it is in duty bound to exact, if it can, that value for them, when it parts with them to the English merchant for gold. For if it parts with them for less than that value, it thereby enables the English merchant to whom it sells them, to mulct the country of a corresponding portion of its produce, for which he renders nothing in return. The loss of the Government is so much gold put into the pocket of the exporter, and this gold is the equivalent of so much produce, filched from the country under warrant of the imprimatur in virtue of which the silver in the rupee possesses, for the time being, an artificial addition to its value.

Now, the Government, and, along with it, other remitters—its partners in misfortune, or rather its victims—is unable to obtain for its rupees the equivalent in gold of their purchasing power, only because, by allowing any one who chooses to get rupees coined at the mint, it prevents any one offering more gold for them than will suffice to purchase and carry to the mint the necessary quantity of silver; and because, silver having undergone a sudden depreciation, the necessary quantity of it is, for the time being, far below the equivalent of that purchasing power. The remedy in the hands of the Government is, therefore, it is plain, to stop this power of getting silver coined into rupees.

We have already pointed out what would follow. Exporters would have to buy their rupees from those who held them; and competition would secure to the holders of rupees the fair equivalent in gold of their purchasing power,—so much gold, that is to say, as the produce procurable with the rupees would sell for in London, less the merchant's costs and fair profit. Instead of the purchasing power of the rupee falling to the level of its exchange value, its exchange value would rise to that of its purchasing power. And this would be the normal and proper relation between the two, and would involve no injustice to any one concerned. The exporter would lose the power, which he accidentally enjoys in the present abnormal condition of things, of deriving an unearned profit at the expense of the people of India, but he would lose nothing of his normal and proper profit. He would be in pre-

cisely the same position that he was in before silver began to fall ; in precisely the same condition that he would in any case have been in, by and bye, when the purchasing power of the rupee should in the course of trade have fallen to the level of its silver value.

The only respect in which the position of things would be abnormal, would be that a large disparity would be maintained between the rupee and the silver contained in it ; and the lower silver fell, the greater this disparity would become. The risk of rupees being privately coined would be proportional to this disparity ; and might become so great as to render it impossible to maintain such a state of things for an indefinite period. It would, however, be neither necessary nor desirable that such a state of things should be indefinitely maintained.

There is a consensus of opinion among economists that it is in the introduction of a gold currency that the permanent solution of the exchange problem is to be found. But for the enormous loss which it is supposed such a solution must involve, it would, there can be little doubt, have been already accepted. But the very fact that such a loss is considered to be an inevitable incident of the fall in silver, shows how completely the case is misunderstood. The exchange value of the rupee being one shilling and eight pence, with every prospect of its falling still lower, India could, it is argued, only convert her rupees into sovereigns at the rate of one shilling and eight pence each, or less. It seems to be assumed that the sole exchangeable wealth of India consists in rupees ; and this assumption subsists in the face of the obvious fact that India is receiving annually a greater or less balance in gold or silver, without giving a single rupee in exchange. The exchangeable wealth of India is, in fact, not her rupees, but her produce ; and the value of this produce is not immediately affected by the fall in silver. As long as India can exchange her produce for its value in gold, it cannot be said that the process entails any loss upon her ; and more than this she cannot desire. Now, the only obstacle to her doing this is the intervention of the rupee, combined with the circumstance that, while a sudden depreciation in the price of silver has made the metal in it worth much less than its purchasing power, her currency laws place it at the disposal of the exporter for a fraction above the cost of the metal in it. India's essential gold-purchasing capacity—*i.e.*, the commodities she has to give in exchange for gold—is as great as ever ; but the medium of exchange which she employs, has become a false medium,—a double tongued medium, which says one thing to the sellers of her produce : "Give for me so much," and another thing to the buyers of her produce : "Take me for so much less."

Let coinage be stopped, and the exchange value of the rupee

must, as we have already pointed out, rise rapidly to the level of its purchasing power, the restoration involving no injustice to any one, but merely securing to India the fair gold value of her commodities, or the equivalent of that value in silver. What that purchasing power is at the present moment, we are not in a position to say. It may be 1s. 11d., or it may be a little more or less. But, whatever it is, to that point its exchange value must rise soon after the currency is made a close one, and there, or about there, it will pause.

As soon as it has reached that point, the introduction of gold will not only be easy, but will involve no repinings. If one and eleven pence is the value in gold which represents the real purchasing power of the rupee, then one and eleven pence, or thereabouts, India will get for the rupee, or for the rupee's worth of produce; and this is all she wants; all she can fairly claim.

Into the details of a scheme for establishing a gold currency it is not our present purpose to enter at length. It is sufficient to point out how the gold is to be got. It is, of course, a condition of this solution of the problem, that the introduction of gold should be gradual. That is to say, if the process is to be carried out without sacrifice, it must be within the limits of the balance annually falling due to India for her exports. The moment India went further than this, and sought to obtain gold by exporting rupees, her power to obtain more than their bullion value would necessarily cease. But within these limits there would be nothing to prevent her obtaining as much gold as she pleased, without appreciable sacrifice. In any case, as we pointed out above, the balance of trade would compel the importation of gold or silver with a close currency, as now. The rupee, being appreciated in relation to bullion, would no longer be melted down for the purposes of art or ornamentation. Bullion for these purposes would be bought with it; and the importers of bullion, instead of taking it to the mint and having it coined, would have to dispose of it in the open market, for its market price. Nevertheless, beyond a certain point, bullion would be imported in preference to goods,—gold or silver, whichever happened to be most in demand. This gold or silver would be available to the Government, equally with other holders of rupees, and it would be worth while for the Government to set a small premium on gold, by offering for it at the mint a fraction above its market value in relation to the rupee.

In the meantime, as a preliminary, it would probably be desirable that Government should have declared a gold standard. The rate at which gold would be put in actual circulation would of course be determined by whatever had proved to be the purchasing power of the rupee.

The introduction of gold at this stage might perhaps be further facilitated by a temporary suspension of the Secretary of State's drafts, leaving the entire balance due to India for her excess exports to be received by her in bullion, the Government here offering to buy gold at such a slight premium as has been already suggested, so as to encourage its importation in preference to silver, and eventually utilising it—say, in paying off rupee loans—the holders of which might be allowed the option of receiving payment in gold. This, however, is merely a suggestion which may be liable to objections we do not at the moment see.

We said above that the nature of the impending calamity is such that every day passed by the Government in inaction means the loss of so much ground which can never afterwards be recovered. Though at any time it is in the power of Government, by closing the mints, to raise the exchange value of the rupee to the level of its purchasing power, it can by no possible means raise the exchange value of the rupee above that level for the time being. Now, every day that the mints remain open, the purchasing power of the rupee is tending downwards towards the level of its silver value. Every ounce of silver brought to the mint to be coined under existing circumstances; every increment to the demand for produce for export, caused by the stimulus of low rates of exchange, means a certain diminution of the purchasing power of the rupee.

If that purchasing power is now equal to one shilling and eleven pence, in a few months it will have fallen to one and ten pence; and, by and bye, it will have fallen to one and sixpence, or whatever may be the final level reached by silver. But it is only while the disparity between the purchasing power and the exchange value of the rupee lasts, that anything can be gained by closing the mints; and the less that disparity is, the less will be the gain. The remedy which the Government now has at its command, is, therefore, hourly slipping away, and in time will lose all its efficacy. When once the opportunity has been allowed to pass away, Government will have no resource left but to increase taxation to an extent commensurate with the diminished purchasing power of its revenue. So far, it is a question of two or three crores only; by and bye, it may be a question of twenty or thirty. Is the Government prepared to face such an alternative? Just, or unjust, it would cause a revolution. If there is any risk at all in the other alternative—that of stopping the coinage of ~~rupees~~ in time,—it is insignificant compared with the risk that such an increase of taxation would involve. We implore the Government for its own sake, for the sake of humanity, to dally no longer with a problem which involves such tremendous issues. A little boldness now, a little grumbling, it may be, on the part of a class, will avert a political and social cataclysm hereafter.

Into the wrong done to individuals by inaction, sufficiently serious now, and likely, by and by, to be terrible ; into the starvation in Lancashire, which, should the fall in silver continue, must be its inevitable consequence, we have not entered ; for, if the Government is not moved to its duty by a sense of its own interests, we can hardly hope that altruistic considerations will rouse it from its lethargy.

Since the above pages were sent to the press, the *Statesman*, has, we see, arrived, by an independent line of argument, at the same conclusion as ourselves regarding the advisability of stopping the coinage of rupees.

JAMES W. FURRELL.

ART. V.—THE RENT QUESTION IN BENGAL.

THE day is already gone by, or at least is fast passing away, when individual men could by the fiat of their genius pretend to regulate the conduct of a whole nation. The relative insignificance of individuals and supremacy of aggregate bodies, are facts, too firmly established now to be overlooked with impunity by any one having the slightest pretension to statesmanship.

The rent question in this country is beset with very many serious difficulties. I am, however, inclined to think that the subject has not been properly studied in all its details, and that many of the measures adopted by the legislature or the means resorted to by the judges, to remove admitted evils connected with the subject, have been suggested, more by preconceived ideas, than by a patient endeavour to meet the numerous minute complications naturally arising out of those innovations. These minute details are often regarded as mere trifles, and a close study of the subject is dispensed with without much consideration. But if the science of sociology is right in upholding the maxim noticed at the outset, all such remedies, being unsuited to the requirements of this country, must be doomed to a miserable failure; moreover, they will serve to complicate matters, as they have actually done, and to aggravate the evils which have already grown alarming.

The subject is one in which a native of the country has a better right to be heard than a European. From the very accident of his birth, the native must be conversant with many facts which never reach the ears of the governing body. The bench and the bar may be supposed to come across all sorts of details in respect of landed property; but their experience is open to the serious objection, that in courts of justice society is presented only in its diseased condition. Of the natives themselves, I think also, that in this respect the man of the mofussil is superior to the more polished inhabitant of the metropolis. The absentee Zemindar in Calcutta knows much less of these things than his obscure and insignificant gomashtha residing in the interior.

It is with extreme diffidence that this paper, which attempts to reduce the complicated facts connected with the Rent Question into a system, is laid before the public. My object is not so much to establish my opinions, as to invite abler men to a systematic study of the subject in all its bearings. Indeed it is my earnest desire that more attention should be directed to the

class of facts noticed below, and that they should be supplemented by further researches on the part of those who have better means at their command to study them.

It will be my endeavour to keep aloof, as far as possible, from the complexities arising from the relation between the Government and its inferior tenants, and to devote my attention chiefly to the dealings between the cultivating classes and their superior landlords; and in so doing it will be necessary to study the facts as they existed before and as they now exist, apart from the results of the more recent legislative and administrative measures.

Rent in this country ought first of all to be divided into two classes: money-rent and produce-rent. This distinction, simple as it is, has a most important bearing upon the question at issue.

Money-rent again is of two kinds: lump-rent and *nirikh-rent*. By lump-rent is meant a specified sum of money charged upon a definite or indefinite quantity of land in the lump or in gross. *Nirikh-rent* is calculated at a certain rate or *nirikh* per bighá or any other unit of land measure; a rent thus calculated in respect of a given area eventually becomes a lump sum, and identical with what has been termed the lump-rent. But the distinction arises from the fact that in the one case the *nirikh* or the rate per bighá has to be determined before the lump sum payable for the entire area of land held, can be ascertained; while in the other, the rate and the area are of no account, and the ryot keeps to the lands he occupies and pays for them a rent in the lump without regard to the area. In the case of lump-rents, it is not unlikely that in many instances, at some remote date, the area of land was ascertained, a certain *nirikh* fixed, and the lump sum payable under that *nirikh* determined, but that subsequently, the lump sum alone became the principal point of consideration, and the rate or *nirikh* and the area came to be more or less overlooked. However, a lump-rent, whatever might be its origin, when varied is varied only in the lump or by an addition of so much per Rupee. On the other hand the *nirikh-rent* is not capable of being altered otherwise than by a variation in the *nirikh* itself. The area might vary, and the lump sum payable for the area might also vary in consequence, but so long as the *nirikh* charged on each unit, of the area continues unchanged, this kind of rent is not looked upon as varied at all. The *nirikh* is in fact the primary although occasional, and the area the secondary but more frequent, subject of discussion between the parties concerned. It may be added that, if we were to apply the principle to revenue instead of rent, the permanently settled revenue would come under the class of *lump-revenue*; the revenues of many of the Sundarbau estates would be *nirikh-revenues*; and the periodically settled revenues of the N.-W. Provinces

would be, in fact, lump-revenues though they have the appearance of *nirikh*-revenues. This anomaly arises from the fact that a rate per acre is always recorded; but such record does not characterise the revenues of the N.-W. P. at all, inasmuch as the rate is ascertained by calculation from the lump sum previously fixed; whereas if these revenues really belonged to the *nirikh* class the rate per acre would be first laid down.

Produce-rent is also of two kinds: Specified or fixed-rent, and proportion-rent, or as they are termed respectively the *Gula*-rent and the *Bhag*-rent. *Gula*-rents signify a *specified quantity* of produce payable for every *highá* or other unit of land measure, irrespective of the quantity of produce actually grown. *Bhag*-rents denote a *specified proportion* of the gross produce of the land on which they are charged. In the case of *Gula*-rents, the rate per *highá* and the quantity of land on which the rent is assessed, are the principal points of consideration; in the case of *Bhag*-rents, however, the rule of division and the quantity of produce raised, are only to be attended to. *Bhag*-rents will be intelligible to any European under the familiar name of *Metayer* rents.

In Bengal the rule of division in respect of *Bhag*-rents is at present generally half and half, *i.e.*, half the produce is paid to the landlord as rent, and the other half goes to the cultivator. Other rules may be found in existence; *Manu* mentions two or three such rules, and about a dozen are given in certain public documents.* The *Bhag* system of tenure may be sub-divided into several species according to the manner in which the produce is divided between the landlord and the tenant. Two of these will be noticed here: *Khét Bat* and *Kankut* (ক্ষেত বাট, কনকুত) or simply *kut* (কুত.) Under the *Khét Bat* process, a rope is thrown across the field dividing the plot into two portions, and the produce thereof is then appropriated by the cultivator and the landlord respectively. This is probably the most primitive form of this tenure. Under the other process named *kankut*, the gross produce is ascertained by estimation. In some places the estimate is made from measurement of the aggregate area to be assessed and the actual produce of a limited area ascertained by inspection or weighment.† The gross produce being thus estimated the landlord's share, according to some fixed rule, is paid in kind.

The *Gula*-rents are in practice only a slight variation of the *Kankut*-rents; the difference being the fixity of the quantity payable every year for each *highá*. These rents are less com-

* *Menu* Chap. vii, v. 130. *Selections from the Revenue Records of N.-W. P.* 1818-20. Calcutta, Military Orphan Press, 1866, p. 94.

† *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1875, p. 189.

monly known than the Bhag-rents, but they prevail in the District of the 24-Pergunnahs, and as I have been informed, they are to be found also in Hughli, Midnapur, Bankura, Jessore and probably also in Rajshahi. In these places they are known by the various names of Gula, Gula-thika, Dhani and Shanja (শাঁজা).

The Gula rents also prevail in parts of Behar and are known by the names Mankhub and Mauhunda, (*man* i. e., maunds, and *hunda*—agreement.)

In the Hughli and Midnapur Districts, as I have been informed, is to be found a particular form of Gula rent, (it is called *shanja*) in which the produce payment is commuted into money, according to the price settled every year at the harvest season, between the Zemindar on the one side, and on the other the general body of the ryots of the village where the tenure prevails. The price thus settled determines the amount payable for the year, any subsequent change in the market notwithstanding.

The difference between *Shanja* and *nirikh*-rents, like that between Kankut and Gula-rents, is only an elimination of the annual variation or uncertainty, in the matter of payment. In fact, the several kinds of rents described above, evince a succession of systematic and natural modification. The Bhag-rents culminate in the method of assessment called Kankut, which is characterised by the inherent disadvantage of an annual variation in payments. Thence there is an easy and natural advance into the fixed Gula-rents. Under the Gula system the first step towards money payment is taken when the commutation system in the shape of *Shanja* rents begins to appear. The *Shanja* like the Kankut, yields an unsettled income and is developed into the fixed form of *nirikh*-rents and finally these last tend to grow into the form of lump-rents.

The *nirikh*-rents are to be found all over Bengal ; and a connection subsisting between these and the much talked of Parganna rates will be shown in the sequel. The distinction between lump-rents and *nirikh*-rents is here introduced for an elucidation of certain parts of my theory.

The foregoing facts, as I think, show that the relation noticed above, between the several systems of rent is not only a logical one, but that these four kinds of rent, disclose a real process of evolution : that the various forms of land tenure which are found to exist in this country, are all connected by natural causes and that they have gradually grown out of the Metayer system which at one time must have universally prevailed in India. I think also that the rights of the parties ought to be determined with reference to the several steps in this systematic evolution, the various existing customs which are part of that evolution and the popular notions of justice which underlie the whole series of facts.

Before I proceed to notice what proofs I have been able to gather in support of my theory, I will for a while dwell upon the peculiar characteristics of the several kinds of rent or tenure noticed above.

The Bhag system in its primitive form does not require any measurement of lands, neither does it contemplate any classification of the soil or variation of the rule of division, corresponding with the varying fertility of land. One rule prevails uniformly in respect of all lands cultivated, and all men cultivating them. Hence, 'economically considered, it becomes impossible under this system, to extend the area of cultivation to lands of which the cost of cultivation exceeds the value of the customary share due to the cultivator. When the landlord's share is a large one as in the case of half shares, the system is 'calculated to be seriously obstructive to the agricultural prosperity of the country. And as regards the private interests of the landlord, the tenure is objectionable among other things for the uncertainty of the landlord's income, which must necessarily fluctuate with every change in the quantity of produce and the price thereof.

The Gula rents are calculated to lead to a differentiation of soils ; but although a variety of Gula rates is known to prevail in different parts of the country, I have not as yet met with any instance in which the variation is the result of an adjustment in respect of the different kinds of soil. The fixity of the gula rents, however, denotes that, so far as the zemindar is concerned, the uncertainties of the seasons have been adequately provided against. Whether the Gula rents originally arose from an actual average being made of the Kankut rents, for good years and bad, it may now be too late to determine ; but it can hardly be questioned, that in the beginning the Gula rates must have been equivalent to such average, or the parties concerned would have reverted to the Bhag system.

After all, however, both the Bhag and the Gula rents must carry with them the vast inconvenience attending upon all produce payments. In spite of what may be said against the fluctuations in the value of money, we cannot afford to forget the immense advance made by civilization, with the substitution of exchange by money for barter. Hence I think the Gula and the Bhag-rents must both be pronounced to be an anachronism at the present day.

Passing on to a consideration of the nirikh and the lump rents, we have to notice first of all, that as money rents, both of these stand in need of a periodical adjustment, with the changing price of commodities. Gula-rents may be supposed to represent the average of the landlord's portion according to the Bhag system for a series of years ; and nirikh-rents, according to my theory, are

equivalent to an average of *Shanja* or *Gula*-rents. But the productive powers of the soil may be so affected as to disturb the original relation between a *Gula*-rent annually payable, and the average of what the landlord would be entitled to, according to the *Bhag* system. So also the commutation price for the conversion of the *Gula* into *nirikh*-rents may require a revision, at the same time that the change in the productive power of the land, calls for a fresh valuation. Thus the *nirikh*-rents as compared to *Gula* and *Bhag*-rents are subject to a double necessity for re-adjustment. This necessity, however, is to ordinary minds less perceptible than what arises from changes in the area of land occupied by the cultivator.

The *nirikh* being settled, the only thing the parties have to bear in mind is the lump sum which, from year to year, the one has to pay and the other to receive; hence the lump-rents naturally tend to eliminate more or less completely the idea of land being the basis of assessment; and this finally becomes an insuperable obstacle to a re-adjustment of the rents. The exigencies of tillage in this country, also require that the boundaries of each field should be examined and set right at times. Add to this, the complexity arising from the facts, that the holdings of the cultivators often comprise, each of them, a number of plots scattered all over the village, and that these plots differ from each other in their character; and it will be easily perceived that, as on the one hand the lump-rents are a necessary consequence of the circumstances connected with land, so on the other their development from *nirikh*-rents requires to be the more sedulously guarded against.

Be this as it may, the *nirikh*, as has been already mentioned, is sometimes practically ignored, and it is therefore to be considered how the lump as well as the *nirikh*-rents are varied and re-adjusted. Before entering upon this point, it may be convenient to define the typical form which the *nirikh*-rents ought to present according to my theory. This will enable us to judge whether the existing *nirikh*-rents really belong to this type, notwithstanding certain discrepancies. These discrepancies again being thus brought into prominence, will either enable us to suggest the requisite remedies for the existing evils, or bring about a complete refutation of my theory. The typical *nirikh*-rent requires the following points to be carefully attended to:—

1.—The land has to be measured and the soil classified. The measurement must be separate for each tenant, and the classification of the soil ought to be such as to bring the worst kind of land under the operation of this system of rent.

2.—The produce of each class of soil should be determined on an average of good and bad years.

3.—The proportion of produce due respectively to the zemindar and the cultivator must be definitely known.

4.—A commutation price should be determined upon for converting into money the landlord's share of the produce.

5.—These principles will apply uniformly in respect of all cultivators within prescribed limits.

With regard to the average produce of each kind of soil and the average price of the produce, we have to bear in mind that variations in these respects, are apt to be neutralized by the average, provided the same individual is allowed to hold on for a series of good and bad years. But with respect to the variations of the soil no such average can be made without positive injury to the cultivator. If the produce of all kinds of soil be reduced into one average rate, the zemindar's interests will not be affected in the least; but the rate will fall with very great inequality upon individual tenants. The only method in which the hardship consequent upon it can be avoided, is to let each tenant occupy all the different kinds of soil, in a proportion equal to that observed in drawing the average. This is simply out of the question, and I mention it only to point out that there is a great deal of difference between drawing an average for statistical purposes, and one intended for assessing a rate to be levied upon individuals. Thus the differentiation of soils and the unification of rates—whether in kind or in specie—as brought about by the Gula and Nirikh-rents, evince at the same time a natural process of evolution and one which is best suited to the wants of the people.

I shall now proceed to adduce what proofs I have been able to gather in support of this theory. These proofs are partly external and partly internal. The internal evidence will naturally show besides, the peculiarities of the rent system of this country and thereby help us in determining the rights of the parties; and will therefore possess a value, quite apart from the theory in support of which that evidence is adduced. This circumstance, no less than the limited space at my command, compels me to be brief in my notice of the external proofs. And it may not be improper to add, that my knowledge of the ancient records of the country is too limited to enable me to do justice to the subject which I have ventured to handle. But it is to be hoped that if I am in the right track, abler men will not be long in coming forward to supply my deficiencies. The external evidence in support of my theory is to be gathered from the *Ain-i-Akbari* and perhaps also from the so-called Pargana rate.

Before, however, I notice the facts recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari* I should mention that the developement of nirikh-rents from the Bhag or Metayer system, bears a close analogy to the commutation of tithes payments. In both cases we find a fixed share

of the produce payable by one party to another, and in both, a commutation price is fixed for the conversion of the produce payment into money. The commutation prices for the tithes are, I believe, published every year in the *London Gazette*; but for the commutation of the Bhag-rents the requisite process has become obsolete, unless we take into account the commutation of *Gula* or *Shanja* rents in Hughli and Midnapore. But the commutation of tithes shows that the prices must be fixed by some superior authority, for it is impossible that the people should be able to come to an agreement about them between themselves. The *Shanja* process presents a somewhat rare instance of the mutual forbearance of landlords and tenants in this country, and a parallel is to be found only in the process employed for the modification and variation of *nirikh* and of lump-rents to be noticed below. The *Ain-i-Akbari* shows that in past times, commutation prices like those of the tithes, were fixed by imperial authority, for various parts of India; and although it is not mentioned, that these prices determined the amount of rents levied, as they determined the revenues, I think it may be presumed that the same prices were taken for both purposes.

The commutation prices which were enforced in the reign of Akbar were of two kinds: annual and decennial. The annual prices were ascertained for a period of 19 years from the 6th to the 24th year of his reign; and the amount of money annually paid per bighá for different kinds of produce, according to these prices, will be found given at the end of the 1st volume of Gladwin's "*Ain-i-Akbari*." Subsequently when a decennial settlement was introduced in the 24th year of the reign, an average rate was fixed from the rates prevailing in the 10 preceding years, *i.e.*, from the 15th to the 24th.* Thus the principle of commutation was sufficiently understood in past times. Then with reference to the objects for which the prices were settled, we find that the revenues were assessed always in kind, and the assessment was commutable into money at the option of the party paying; and I am supported by no less an authority than Sir John Shore, when I say that the rents also were assessed under a similar principle.†

For revenue purposes, again, we learn that the land was divided into several classes, but the assessment was made with reference to only one of them, and that particular class was again divided into three subordinate classes, *viz.* "best, middling, and bad." An average was fixed from the produce of each of these, and one-third of the average was prescribed as the revenue charge per bighá, which again was commutable into money as before described.

* Gladwin, London Edition, Vol. i., *lysis*. Calcutta : Military Orphan Press, 1866, p. 268.

† Extracts from *Harrington's Ana-*

It is doubtful, whether the commutation was made with reference to a definite quantity of produce, charged as in the case of Gula-rents, in respect of all lands, from year to year. But there are tables given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* showing the exact quantity of several kinds of produce, chargeable per bighá of each kind of land.* These are identical in principle with the Gula-rents; and the rule of division—one-third the average produce—connects them at once with the Bhag system.

Even if, however, the Gula system did not then prevail, there was the *Kankut* system undoubtedly in existence, and the commutation price if applied to it was sure to lead to a system of revenue closely allied to the *Shanja*-rents.

It is to be presumed, however, that when the annual settlement of Akbar was followed by his decennial settlement, the Gula system must have been introduced, if for no other reason than to save the trouble of assessment which was the sole object of the latter settlement. I thus arrive at the conclusion, that if the tables given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, are to be looked upon as recording the Gula revenues, the decennial settlement aforesaid must have led immediately to the *nirikh* system. And that, if it be supposed that the commutation prices were applied only to *Kankut* rents, the *nirikh* system must have taken a little more time to develop itself.

The Pargana rate is, I think, a subject which is destined to remain more or less a mystery for all time to come. If, as is barely possible, it represented the rate recorded by Kanungoes, as a check upon the accounts furnished by zemindars, from which in past times, the revenues payable by them were determined, then it would seem, that this rate supplied the defect naturally arising from the absence or the disuse of the process of valuation, which was the basis of Akbar's settlement. But apart from this, it is clear that it must have been a *nirikh* of some kind charged upon every bighá of land. The word Pargana now signifies a number of villages or parts of villages. Whether the limits of a Pargana could formerly vary, it is perhaps now too late in the day to enquire; but supposing that the word was loosely employed, as even now it seems occasionally to be used, the expression Pargana rate would signify only a particular *nirikh*, prevailing over an indefinite number of villages. So that without venturing to establish, that the genesis of the Pargana rate was identical with that of our typical *nirikh*-rent, it is possible to attribute to it certain other characteristics which are now clearly traceable in the existing form of *nirikh*-rents. This partial identification will be serviceable in determining the principle of assessment and the right as to occupation of land which now prevail among the tenant classes. We know

* *Gludwin*, vol. 1. p. 307, 308, 312, and 313.

that the Pargana rate, whatever its character might have been, is a very old thing; and a comparison of it with the *nirikh*-rent will throw considerable light upon the question of tenant-right. The Pargana rate was claimable by all *khudkasht* (resident) ryots of the days of the permanent settlement, and subsequently by all *kudeemi* (old) *Khudkasht ryots** The *nirikh*-rents are chargeable uniformly upon all ryots, and are also subject to variation and re-adjustment. Hence it may be supposed that the same was the case with the Pargana rate. If it is contended by any one, that the Pargana rate was a *nirikh*, invariable in point of time, or variable in regard to different classes of ryots, such contentions ought to be supported by adequate proofs, and such proofs, as far as I am aware, are not forthcoming. The Pargana rate, if identified with the existing *nirikh* system, would carry the latter back to the days, when the Bhag system was unquestionably far more prevalent than now.

I next pass on to consider the internal evidence furnished by the *nirikh*-rents, such as, I think; would connect them with the produce rents, and also indicate their characteristic features.

The points to be considered are, the assessment and the variation of the rents. Now the *nirikh*-rents, whatever their origin, tend, after they are once introduced, to spread into places where there are no rents, or rather, no cultivation. The classification of soils leads at once to a *nirikh*, in harmony with that prevailing in respect of adjoining lauds of old cultivation. In fact, whatever traces can yet be obtained of the older forms of rent, are only instances of a survival of the past, which is common to all kinds of evolution. We cannot, therefore, expect to see the process of development actually in operation: we can only find exceptional cases showing the earlier stages of the development. But instead of a case showing the *original* assessment of *nirikh*-rents, we can observe the process by which a variation or re-adjustment of the old *nirikh* is effected. This it shall now be my object to examine.

The process for varying the *nirikh*, is familiar to the zemindars, quite as much as to the ryots; it is called *Jarip-Jamabandi*. It is certainly not unknown to our revenue officers, as the records of the Collector's office, and the rules of the Revenue Board bear ample testimony. But I find myself in considerable difficulty, in attempting to show the antiquity of the procedure; for somehow or other, enhancement of *nirikh*-rents, or that of the Pargana rate, by *jamabandi*, has not been, as far as I am aware, noticed by

* The rent or the revenue was in those days supposed to represent a certain proportion of the produce of land, (this will be noticed after-

wards); and the *nirikh* according to my theory is also a proportion of the average produce.

writers on land tenures, unless we take into account the following passage in one of Sir John Shore's minutes.

"When a measurement of the lands takes place the existing rates are confirmed and generally with some additions; where none can be found, a reference is made to the rates of other lands of the same quality, in the vicinity of the spot measured, but the adjustment of them in that case is a business of considerable difficulty. Every part of the transaction is a subject of contention, the demands on both sides are unreasonable and are finally terminated by a compromise."—*Extracts from Harington's Analysis*, p. 270.

A perusal of the entire passage, of which a part is here extracted, leaves hardly any doubt that the measurement of land and the additions to existing rates referred to, mean nothing else but *jarip* and *jamabandi*.

The process prevails all over Bengal; and that too, independently of any legislative enactment of the British Government. But I cannot think that such a thing could have come to exist among an "over-governed" community like that of Bengal, except by the authority of the supreme power. I am thus led to attribute to it an origin dating from the Muhammadan Government, if not earlier. On the contrary, if the *jamabandi* be an entirely indigenous process, it must have its root in a widely prevailing custom; and even if a remote antiquity might not be claimed in its favour, it would undoubtedly have the immense strength implied by indigenous growth.

To avoid confusion, I would mention here, that the *nirikh*-rents alone are modified by *jamabandi*, and the lump-rents are enhanced by the addition of *abwabs*. I shall show afterwards that this arises from the very nature of the things themselves.

A *jamabandi* is always preceded by a *jarip*. The *jarip* is a measurement of the plots of ground comprised in each village, which are indicated by serial numbers called *Dags*. Under each *Dag* is recorded (1) The boundaries of the plot, (2) the name of the tenant or cultivator, (3) the length and breadth of the plot from north to south and east to west, (4) the area of the plot derived from these insufficient data, (for the angles are never taken into account), (5) the class of the soil, and lastly (6) the number and description of any valuable trees (*nolat* আওলাত) found standing on the plot. The document recording these facts is called the *chit'ha*. The officer making the measurement, named an *amin*, is appointed by the zemindar. As the work advances, day after day, the tenants of the village, especially the leading ryots and those whose lands are to be measured, are summoned to be present; and those who are in attendance, witness the *chit'ha* by endorsing it. Sometimes the ryots of the village engage another person, called

rujunavis, to watch the proceedings of the *amin* and to take notes of his measurement.

From the *chit'ha* is prepared, what is something like a digest of it and is called the *khatian*. This shows the various plots of land held by each ryot, as denoted by their respective numbers (*Dags*), and also the total quantity of each kind of land in his occupation.

The next step is to fix a *nirikh* for each class of soil in the village. In this the zemindar himself has to take part as well as the general body of the ryots. The process is the very same as that required for the fixing of the commutation price with regard to *shunja* noticed before. The *nirikh* or rather the *nirikhs*, are fixed after a discussion, long and tedious, though never warm unless on the part of the zemindar, and as shown in the extract from Sir J. Shore's minute, it is always closed by a compromise.

It may be as well to notice here, that the fact above disclosed completely sets at rest the question whether the zemindar has any right at all to enhance the *nirikh*, and whether he does not recognize a right on the part of his ryots to resist his demands to a greater or less extent. In short, it shows that the zemindar cannot impose whatever rent he chooses.

The *nirikh* being settled, it becomes necessary to determine the exact amount of rent annually payable by each ryot for the lands occupied by him. This is effected by the document called *jama-bandi*, which in fact gives the name to the entire process following the *jarip*. The *jama-bandi* records (1) the total area of each kind of land held by each ryot, the facts being obtained from the *khatian*, (2) the *nirikh* settled verbally as described before, and, (3) from these two, the lump-rent payable by each ryot. It is then signed on each sheet by the ryot whose rents are recorded in it. After this, the parties have not much occasion to refer to the *jama-bandi*. The lump-rent payable by each ryot is entered in his name in a document called *karcha hisáb* or *thoka* which is drawn up every year and corresponds with the ledger of mercantile account-books. This document shows also, any change that may take place in the course of the year in the occupation of the lands, as signified by the term *kharij dakhil*, the arrears of rent brought forward from the account of the preceding year, the amount credited in the course of the year, and lastly the balance outstanding at the close of the year under record. Sometimes the *karcha* shows also the area of land held by the tenant in each village, as well as the area of each kind of land.

The *karcha* comprises, in fact, the separate accounts which each ryot has with his zemindar; but if the various entries given in it have to be examined in the aggregate, as it would be the interest of the zemindar to do, they must be summed up elsewhere. This is done

by the document called the *jamawasil baki*, which is simply a tabular return showing the entries of the *thoka* or *karcha*, and giving besides, the totals of those entries.

I am not aware, however, that there is any annual record kept by the zemindar, showing the area of each plot or *dag* as given in the *chit'ha*, or the rent thereof with or without the *nirikh*. Nor do I know that, if any lands were to be let out to tenants for a specified period, it was possible from any document to see at a glance when the leases would fall in, so as to enable the zemindar to re-enter upon his lands without any delay.

Whenever a zemindary happens to change hands otherwise than by a voluntary assignment, the documents before described become totally inaccessible to the new zemindar. And before he can make a fresh *jarip* and *jamabandi*, he is compelled only to look to the lump-rents paid by the ryots. Therefore the *karcha* and *jamawasil baki* drawn up by his gomashita or agent, naturally fail to show the area occupied by each tenant, and the *nirikh* is suppressed, ignored or forgotten. In other words the *nirikh* system under the circumstances changes at once into the lump-system.

Let us now recapitulate for a moment, the real bearings of the facts above described. A *jamabandi* always includes all the ryots of the village, who pay their rents to the zemindar making the *jamabandi*; and no distinction is made as to the *nirikh*, between old ryots and new. This is quite consistent with the universality of the Pargana rate and the filiation traced between the *nirikh* and the *bhag* or metayer rents; for it is well known that the metayer system does not recognize any such distinction. The classification of soils under the *nirikh* system, if not derived from the *gula* rents, is at least only a natural development of the metayer system. The assessment leaves to the tenant, as in the case of *bhag* rent, a certain margin of profit representing a limited proprietary interest in the land.

The rights of the ryots, whose rents are assessed by a *jamabandi*, will be discussed when I come to consider the question of occupation as distinct from assessment. Meantime, it will be clear that the process of assessment under notice, does not distinguish between the occupancy and non-occupancy ryots as defined in sections VI. & VII. of the rent law; but it is not necessary, to account for the existence of these classes of ryots, for it is generally admitted, that they owe their origin to the Act X. of 1859.

I have, however, to notice certain other facts, which at first sight seem to be exceptions to the assessment by *jamabandi*, but which, I hope, will ultimately be found to support the universality attributed to that process. These facts are—the existence of *khud-kasht* and *paikasht* ryots; of another class of ryots who are known by different names in different places, but who are un-

doubtedly tenants-at-will and are thus distinguishable from the general body of the ryots ; of the *kurfu* ryots, i. e., those holding under and paying higher rents than, the ryots comprised in the *jamabandi* ; and lastly a lower assessment than the *nirikh* rent or the lump-rent under the prevailing *nirikh*, such assessment being made in respect of individual ryots and denoted by the name *rasad* allowance.

I shall show that all these apparent exceptions arise from the very peculiarities of the process called *jamabandi* coupled with fluctuations in the value of money.

Before, however, I enter upon an explanation of these facts, it is necessary to stop for a moment, to see if it be possible to connect the *jamabandi* with the *bhag* and *gula* systems. I have already noticed the similarity between *jamabandi* and the fixing of the commutation prices in the case of *gula* rents, under the process called *shanja*. I have shown also by reference to the settlements of Akbar and the commutation of tithes-payments, that commutation prices must be fixed by the sovereign authority ; but it is well known that for a long time, the supreme power has ceased to exercise its authority in this respect. It should be borne in mind also that, with the development of the *bhag* into the *gula* system, or with a natural elimination of the annual variations peculiar to *kankut* payments, the rule of division peculiar to the *bhag* system ceases to be employed for purposes of assessment. And finally it is seen that the *nirikh* system once developed is apt to extend itself without passing through either of the stages.

We thus find ample reason for the gradual obliteration of the several elements of the typical *nirikh*-rent, viz., the principle of division, the averaging of the quantity of produce and the fixing of the commutation prices. Some traces of those elements may nevertheless be discovered in the following facts :—

A *jamabandi*, as now conducted is in fact almost as good as a fresh assessment of the *nirikh* ; as the rent has to be derived from the produce, the relation between the amount of rent and the quantity of produce would be quite unaffected by any variations in the pole of measurement, provided the same pole was employed in estimating the average produce of land, and in fixing the *nirikh*. When a *nirikh* happens to be derived from past times or from surrounding lands, it would of course be necessary to keep strictly to the pole of measurement, prevailing in such place or time ; but when a *nirikh* is varied, the increased *nirikh* is altogether a new one, and, to be fair, needs only to be adjusted with reference to the produce of the same unit of land measure for which it is charged. What then may be the cause that before a *jarip* can take place there is such a

contest about the standard pole? In fact it is for the determination of these disputes between the ryots and the zemindar, that the Government has found it necessary to preserve a careful record in the Board of Revenue of the exact length of the standard pole prevailing in different parts of the country. It would be too much to suppose that this intense anxiety on the part of the ryots, to keep up the standard pole, could entirely be the result of their conservative character. No doubt that has something to do with it. But this conservatism must have had a beginning: some time or other the ryots must have felt the necessity for this precaution; otherwise an indifference about the matter would have been handed down to posterity, instead of an anxious care to see that the pole was not altered.

The only way that I think this anxiety can be accounted for, is by the theory I have ventured to advance, *viz.*, that the *nirikh* rents were originally assessed upon the basis of the *'gula* or *shanja* and these again upon the *kankut* rents. For in that case the standard pole employed to determine the average produce of the soil would be of the utmost importance in regard to the *nirikh*, so long as a fresh valuation of the produce or a fresh average of the *kankut* rents could not be made. The variation of the *nirikh* by *jamabandi* was, I think, first called for by a fall in the value of money; but so long as the sovereign power did not settle the average produce or the commutation price, or where the rule of division had been forgotten or ignored, the parties could proceed only upon the basis of the existing *nirikh*, bearing in mind that it was originally settled with reference to the *gula*, or an average of the *kankut* rates.

Another connecting link may, I think, be traced in the custom prevailing all over Bengal under which the zemindar is entitled to something like a seigniorage upon every valuable tree (আওলাত *áolát*) cut or thrown down on the estate. These trees it will be remembered are always recorded in the course of a *jarip*; no distinction is then made between trees planted by the *ryot* in occupation or by his predecessors. The land on which the trees grow is duly assessed and pays the *nirikh* fixed upon; and yet the zemindar seems to hold a lien upon the trees raised by the tenant. I can account for this apparent tyranny of the zemindar only by tracing back the *nirikh* to the *bhag* system, under which the zemindar would be entitled to the prescribed proportion of the produce of the trees, as well as to the fixed share of the timber. The *nirikh* represents only the produce, and thus the zemindar would have a legitimate and a separate title to the trees after they are cut or thrown down, just as, in this system, he is entitled to a share of the straw, as well as to a share of the paddy. The zemindar's share in trees

varies considerably in different parts of the country, and this circumstance is probably due to the obliteration of the rule of division; but the share in question is always an aliquot part of the tree;—the significance of this is obvious.

A third link may, I think, be traced in the custom duly recognised by the legislature by which the zemindar is entitled to distrain the standing crops of the tenant, for the realization of his rent. Here we find only a part of the arrangement indispensable in the case of the *kankut* and the *bhag* rents.

Lastly, in some places, if I have not been misinformed, the homestead lands of the cultivators are never charged with any *nirikh*. This, if true, would clearly bring the assessment under the *bhag* system.

I now proceed to investigate the apparent exceptions to the *nirikh* system as previously adverted to.

I have already mentioned that the data recorded in the *chittha* for calculating the areas of the plots are insufficient. The result is that the measurement is never sufficiently accurate; in other words, the recorded area is sometimes above, and sometimes below, the correct area. This circumstance as well as any inaccuracies in the classification of the soils, causes the *nirikh* to fall with unequal pressure upon the ryots. Some are better off than they would be if these errors and inaccuracies did not exist, and some, on the contrary, bear up with the *nirikh* only because it is never a rack-rent.*

Let us now suppose that a *jamabandi* is followed by a general fall of prices or a rise in the value of money. The ryots upon whom the pressure of the *nirikh* was unequally high, under the circumstances mentioned above, now begin to suffer; they fall into arrears and are ejected or abscond from the estate. But it should be borne in mind, that the pressure increases slowly in point of time and unequally in respect of individuals. In this way a call for abatement of the *nirikh* from the general body of the ryots is prevented; and we see clearly how a *jamabandi*, as mentioned by Sir John Shore, is made only when the existing rates can be confirmed or augmented.

With regard to the lands fallen vacant from the absconding of individual ryots and the increased pressure of the *nirikh*, it will

* This inequality of pressure is perhaps at the root of the scattered nature of tenant's holdings in this country, the ryot trying to cover the defects of one plot by the advantages of another. The similarity between the scattered plots of each holding, the scattered chunks of each zemindary, and the scattered villages of

each pargana is, I think, sufficiently striking to deserve a closer study. I do not think it impossible that the word pargana originally meant the same thing as the modern revenue term *estate* or *mehal*; and it is possible too, that the pargana rate then signified a *nirikh*, charged uniformly all over the same zemindary.

be perceived, that the zemindar cannot dispose of them among the ryots of the village, at the existing *nirikh*, and would not consent to an alteration thereof, for in that case, a like abatement would be claimed by all the ryots holding similar lands. By 'similar,' we mean only as far as the *chit'ha*, *khatian* and *jama-bandi* are concerned, for the inaccuracies of measurement are hardly ever known, and the fall of prices seldom understood, much less recognized, as a matter for consideration. Besides, the zemindar is sometimes on the wrong scent, and suspects the ryots to be in a league to deprive him of a part of his fair rent. He therefore expects a suitable offer to come in time; and meanwhile, to avoid total loss of rent in respect of the vacant holding, he may let it out tentatively, *i.e.*, from year to year, for whatever rents may be offered. This kind of settlement is known by various names, such as, *utbandi*, *noksan*, *t'hika* or *sanat*, prevailing in different parts of the country; some of the names as *noksan* (depreciated) and *sanat* (annual) are significant of the circumstance under which the tenures arise.* But if I am not mistaken, these tenures are always created upon the distinct understanding that the tenants may be called upon at the close of each year, to vacate the lands. But, as there is no certainty when the zemindar will have a suitable offer, *i. e.*, one in accordance with the prevailing *nirikh*, he cannot assign any definite period during which the tenure is to last. The understanding is therefore only one of an annual settlement.

Sometimes the zemindar is compelled to grant an abatement called a *rasad*. The *rasad* is either for a definite or for an indefinite period. In the first case the *nirikh* comes to be charged after the period of *rasad* is over, and in the second it virtually becomes a permanent abatement for each person enjoying it, but a varying one as regards different individuals;—in either case the tenant continues to enjoy the same right of occupation as the general body of the ryots; *i.e.* to say, he is not regarded as a tenant-at-will like the *utbandi* ryot.

Lastly, the zemindar sometimes gets what are called *paikasht* or non-resident ryots to cultivate the vacant holdings. Their title is necessarily weak, for as soon as a *khudkasht* ryot offering the full *nirikh* is available, the zemindar at once takes him in, in preference to a *paikasht* tenant who is already in occupation and pays the same rate of rent.

The assessment in the case of a *paikasht* ryot may or may not be below the prevailing *nirikh*. The *paikasht* tenants are generally those who cannot obtain in the villages where they reside land sufficient to support them, and are therefore often disposed to

* The names *utbandi* and *t'hika* are known to bear in some places almost a contrary meaning.

pay more than *khudkasht* ryots. In this way a zemindar may sometimes obtain even a higher *nirikh* than the one prevailing, from *utbandi* or *paikasht* ryots. But *jamabandi* reduces all ryots, *paikasht*, *khudkasht* or *utbandi* to the same level of a uniform rate, of assessment.

When, as it sometimes happens, the rate of a *paikasht* ryot is below the prevailing *nirikh*, as in the case of *utbandi* ryots, we have the apparently anomalous phenomenon of a tenant-at-will paying a lower rate of rent than the generality of the ryots. The truth, however, is that the inaccuracies of *jarip* and *jamabandi* lie at the bottom of this apparent anomaly.

It thus appears, that the growth of *rasad* allowances, and of *utbandi* and *paikasht* assessment are only a temporary violation of the principle of uniformity peculiar to the *nirikh* and the *bhag* system, for these always vanish with every fresh *jamabandi*. They are called into existence by a natural phenomenon, over which no man can have any control, *viz.*, the fluctuations in the value of money; and their very exceptional character proves the universality of the *nirikh* system.

I have next to consider the peculiar phenomena brought about by the effects of a general rise of prices and of a fall in the value of money, in respect of an assessment made by *jamabandi*. In such a case, the benefit is shared in a greater or less degree by all the ryots; and the zemindar alone suffers from the depreciation. He therefore seeks somehow or other to obtain an increase of rent. It cannot be denied, that the economic bearings of the event are seldom understood by the zemindar and much less by the ryot. The former only tries to recoup himself for the loss caused by a decrease in the purchasing power of his money-income, and the latter can never distinguish between a necessary and fair enhancement of rent, and an arbitrary and tyrannical extortion of money. It is not therefore in every case, that a fresh *jarip* and *jamabandi* are consented to by the ryots. When they do so, however, matters are completely squared, as on the occasion of the previous *jamabandi*, until, of course, the modifying circumstances begin to operate again. When, besides, by a change of ownership or other event, the *nirikh* is forgotten or ignored and lump rents take the place of *nirikh* rents, and when the plots comprised in each holding cannot be easily ascertained, the ryots find a certain advantage which they never fail to utilize by offering a most strenuous opposition to a fresh *jamabandi*.

The crude form of organization which enables the ryots to engage a *rujunavis* to watch the *jarip*, now becomes developed into a regular shape, and they set up a violent resistance to the process. And we are thus brought face to face with the phenomenon which

has occurred over and over again and is known by the familiar name of *dharmaghat* धर्मघाट. The resistance noticed above serves in some cases, to prevent an enhancement altogether. In others, it leads only to the enhancement of rents in the lump, and not to the introduction of a new *nirikh*. The distinction between the two is that in the former, the increase is simply one of so much per rupee, and as such, it differs from an increased *nirikh*, because the latter is always preceded by a fresh measurement, and effects a double enhancement, *viz.*, one in the rate and another in the area charged therewith. Besides, the influential ryots of every village always manage to keep more lands than they pay for; and by a fresh measurement the inaccuracies of the preceding one become apt to be disclosed to the disadvantage of these people. The leading ryots are, therefore, naturally more opposed to a *jarip-jamabandi* than to an enhancement of the lump rent by the addition of so much per rupee. And their opposition sometimes ends in a complete discomfiture of the zemindar.

The increased profits of the ryots thus secured by the failure of a fresh *jamabandi* leads to sub-infeudation and transfer of tenant-rights.

Sale of tenant-right. Although a *jamabandi* always leaves a certain margin of profit to the ryot and the assessment is below a rack-rent, yet the profit at first is never large enough to secure an appreciable price for the sale of the tenure, much less to allow of the tenure being sub-let. For sub-letting by a cultivator signifies that the land yields enough to leave, after supporting the sub-tenant, and repaying the cost of cultivation, a surplus not only to pay the zemindar's rent, but also to maintain the old cultivator now turned a middleman.

At times however when the cultivator's profits are low, transfers of tenures or of portions of tenures are rendered necessary by the very inability of the ryots to manage their lands. When a holding happens to be given up or left vacant, the zemindar finds himself in a sort of trouble until it is let out again to another ryot; but if, on the other hand, the ryots arrange among themselves for the transfer of any land, the zemindar's trouble is thereby saved. When, however the profits of the ryot begin to increase and it is not yet worth the zemindar's while to make a fresh *jamabandi*, such a transfer becomes rarer, and when it takes place the zemindar is enabled to exact a fee for the registration of the transfer and mutation of names. When, however, a *jamabandi* is resisted, the zemindar, if sufficiently strong, begins to demand and exact larger fees, or if practicable, to oppose such transfers altogether; for he finds that, if by such opposition the lands come to be given up or left vacant, he can let them out at a higher rent, by following the same course which enables him to make an

utbandi settlement for depreciated or *nuksan* lands. Thus an *utbandi* tenant occasionally pays a higher *nirikh* than the prevailing one.

Sub-infeudation.—In considering the sub-letting by cultivators, I have to digress a little and consider the subject of sub-infeudation by zemindars. When a zemindar creates a sub-tenure, he generally allows to the sub-tenant a margin of profit out of his own collections, and also vests the latter with the power of making a *jarip* and *jamabandi*, or otherwise enhancing the rents. The sub-tenant generally pays a bonus to cover the profit allowed to him. But if he afterwards happens to derive a larger rental than what may ordinarily be considered fair, the excess thus obtained must be set down as due, no less to the extortion of the under-proprietor, than to uncertainties in the limit of enhancement.

On the other hand, when the cultivator finds himself in a position to sub-let his lands while he himself has escaped payment of higher rents by preventing the *jamabandi*, he virtually defrauds his superior landlord of his legitimate share in the increment of rent. The sub-infeudation by the zemindar is due to the enhancement of rent being liable to be pushed *beyond* its legitimate limits; and sub-infeudation by the ryot arises from the requisite processes for such enhancement being prevented or obstructed, either in consequence of an organised resistance set up by the ryots or by any other cause.

It is to be noticed also that sub-infeudation and an out-and-out sale are in one sense correlated to each other. If land cannot be sold, or cannot be sold except at a comparative loss, people would naturally seek to sub-let their rights. Under the Muhammadan law the rights of cultivators known as *mokassima* could not be sold, but they might be sub-let.* This was consistent with the absence of a market for the sale of lands. But nevertheless the obstacles to *jamabandi* have served to bring about a partial transfer of tenant rights by sale. The Permanent Settlement allowed the right of transfer to the zemindars, but made stringent provisions against sub-letting. The absence of market likewise in this case, led to an almost endless amount of sub-infeudation, for the permanency of the revenue increased the profits of the zemindar in the same way that the obstruction to *jamabandi* augments the profits of the ryot.

We have seen that a general fall of prices leads to *utbandi* or *palkusht* settlement; but that a fresh *jamabandi* always restores the old state of things. When, however, a general rise of prices together with a postponement of *jamabandi* causes the growth of sub-letting, and brings into existence a body of sub-tenants called

* Baillie's *Land Tax of India*, 2nd Edn., *Introduct. Essay*. p. xxiij.

kurfa ryots, it becomes impossible to get rid of them even after the long expected *jamabandi* is made. For the dealings of the zemindar are necessarily confined to tenants-in-chief, and a *jamabandi* being after all a matter of compromise, he cannot enforce a *nirikh* which would altogether swallow up the profits of the middlemen with whom he has to deal. This has been the result of denying to the zemindars a regular and timely enhancement of his rents; and it is for the public to consider whether in the proposed reforms of the rent-law, the greatest sympathy should be shown to the new *kurfa* cultivator or to the old tenant, now turned a middleman.

Although, therefore, we see that a class called *kurfa* ryots have grown up since the days of the *bhag* system, yet it is perfectly clear that their existence does not disturb our theory, that *nirikh* rents are developed from the *bhag* rents, and are uniform as regards all tenants who pay immediately to the zemindar.

. Turning now to the question of tenant-right we find that the joint action of the tenants in appointing a *rujunavis* and in setting up the organised resistance called *dharmaghat*, and their general consent required in the making of a *jamabandi*, and the uniformity which has to be observed in assessing the *nirikh* rents all tend to give them a class-right as distinguished from individual right. This has an important bearing upon the question whether tenant right in this country is one of status and not one of contract as contended for by Mr. Montriou in *Hills vs. Issur Ghose*.*

We see also that under the *nirikh* as well as under the *gula* and *bhag* systems, the tenant enjoys a margin of profit which is equivalent to a limited proprietary interest in the soil.

Next we see that a right of hereditary succession is acquired by the general body of tenants from the very nature of the case. We of course exclude from our consideration the *utbandi* or *chika* ryot as well as the *kurfa* tenant. A zemindar is mindful only of his rents. These rents are varied by a *jamabandi*. So long as the necessity for a *jamabandi* does not occur, and also after a fresh *jamabandi* has been made, the zemindar has no occasion to evict his ryot except for arrears of rent. The right of re-entry becomes serviceable to the zemindar only when a *jamabandi* is opposed; but such opposition, as a rule, is not contemplated beforehand, and thus the general body of tenants acquire the right of succession.

The right of succession and that of transfer are thus acquired by the ryot in the natural course of events; but so far as the latter is concerned, the zemindar finds an opportunity of

interposing, by refusing to recognise the purchaser, and his interference is probably also based upon the Muhammadan law about *mokassima* tenures previously alluded to.

With regard to the questions of occupancy and ejectment we find in the existing rent-law that the zemindar is entitled by Section XXII (of Act VIII of 1869, B. C.) to oust a tenant under a prescribed process for default in the payment of rents. This, we also know, is an improvement upon a similar provision in Reg. VII of 1799.* And it is, we believe, quite consistent with a custom said to prevail almost all over Asia and over parts of Europe and Africa, whereby all tenants paying what are called ryot-rents become liable to eviction when they fall into arrears. (*Vide*, Jones on the *Distribution of Wealth*, Edn. 1844, pp. 102, 116 and 120-21; *System of Land Tenure*, Cobden Club, p. 3.)

• We find also that Sections VI and VII of the Act named above, provide that a tenant in occupation of land for less than 12 years can be ejected at will by the zemindar, and that all tenants holding for that period or longer may be treated in the same way, if the zemindar reserves to himself this right of re-entry by special engagement.

These two provisions are utterly at variance with the theory advanced by me, and also with the custom of the country. And I shall show that they are even injurious to the interests of the ryots for whose benefit they are supposed to have been made.

I am not aware, so far as the real intention of parties is concerned of any ejectable tenants of the kind contemplated by Sections VI and VII, except the *utbandi* or *thika* ryots to whom allusion has already been made at sufficient length. Let not a zemindar be startled by this statement; if he will coolly examine his own conduct, he will find that to drive a tenant from his home (*bhita*) and eject him from his lands have always been furthest from his thoughts, unless it were in the case of a refractory tenant; and in such a case ejectment is sought for with the sole object of inflicting a punishment. This, however, is a course from which the zemindar is altogether debarred by the existing law, inasmuch as it gives the right of punishment only to the supreme power. I have already said that the ejectable nature of *utbandi* tenures is a temporary phenomenon and always disappears with the next *jama-bandi*; and I can speak from my own experience that when a settlement is made with a ryot according to the prevailing *nirikh*, it is never upon the understanding that he may be ejected by the zemindar at his will or after a stated period.

It is unnecessary to explain the bearing of this upon the fact previously noticed that the *karcha hisab* and *jamawasil baki*

* Section XV. Cl. 7.

papers have no room for an entry to show when the tenancy of a ryot is to expire.

Now, the rent-law was intended for the protection of the ryot community ; but it will appear from the above, that the provisions of Sections VI and VII really tend to the injury of the ryots. No doubt, the uncertainty about the right of hereditary succession which belongs to all ryots other than *utbandi* ones, led to the provision in the law about 12 years' occupation. But, in effect, it has completely cut off the chance of all ejectable ryots being ever after converted into occupancy or hereditary ones, since the zemindar is allowed to make an engagement with all ryots, of less than 12 years' standing, reserving to himself a free right of re-entry.

This provision of the law, so foreign to the customs of the country, cannot but be productive of evil ; and the evil has been considerably aggravated by the operation of a Judicial ruling. I say, a Judicial ruling, and not Legislative, for there is nothing in the law itself which provides an assessment in the case of occupancy ryots different from that in the case of non-occupancy holders. And I am here supported by no less an authority than Sir Barnes Peacock. The principle of the ruling alluded to, is that an occupancy ryot is entitled to a rate lower than that to which a non-occupancy ryot is entitled.

Now, if I have succeeded in rightly describing the rent system of this country, it follows, that the natural growth of ejectable ryots is prevented by *jamabandi* and by the uniformity of *nirakh* rents. If, therefore, the principle of assessment noticed above be introduced by the legislature, which, in effect, holds out a premium to the increase of ejectable ryots, the benefit accorded thereby to the non-ejectable or occupancy ryots, will be naturally confined only to the old tenants. For higher rents being obtainable from non-occupancy ryots, it will be the interest of the zemindar to increase their number and their holdings as much as possible. It is thus clear, that the inherent evil effects of Section VII, which may have been counteracted by natural causes, received a fresh vitality from the principle of assessment adopted by the High Court. And this, it may be predicted, will lead to the ultimate destruction of the class of occupancy ryots created by Section VI. The effect of the latter section was, no doubt, to protect a large number of ryots ; but a still larger number has been left unprotected, for by the joint operation of Sections VI and VII, non-occupancy rights would include not only those whose tenancy fell short of 12 years, at the time the law was passed, but also all other ryots who were in future to come into existence. In other words, if the class of occupancy ryots had for their growth, the long period between the date of the Permanent Settlement and the date which

fell 12 years behind the passing of Act X. of 1859, the non-occupancy ryots have the still larger period of those 12 years, and all subsequent time to come. It is simply a fortunate accident that the zemindars have not yet taken full advantage of the law.

It is quite possible, if the present state of things continues, that a large number of zemindaries will change hands. Such things have occurred in consequence of inadequate shelter afforded to the zemindars by the Legislature, and may take place again. These changes however, are calculated to lead to a fresh accession of wealth, intelligence and energy in the ranks of zemindars, and the advantages offered to them by Sec. VII cannot fail to be utilized in the long run. The only thing necessary for the zemindar to attain this object, is to enforce the right of ejectment against the existing ryots and to reserve the same right in all future settlements. I have already mentioned how this can be effected with the help of Sections VI, VII and XXII ; and now there is an additional means afforded, or rather a means already in existence has received additional strength ; I allude to the F. B. ruling of the High Court in the case of Narendro Narain Roy (22 W.R., pp. 22-27,) which has finally laid down that when an occupancy ryot sells his holding, his right ceases and the purchaser is not protected from ejectment.

The conclusion, therefore, is that not only the innovation introduced by Act X, as regards the right of occupancy, is inconsistent with the rent system and the usages of the country, but that it does not possess even the recommendation of having conferred a blessing upon the community of ryots.

Before I proceed to describe the process in vogue for the enhancement of lump rents, I will close the subject of *jamabandi* with the following remarks :—

Just as in the case of the settlement of commutation price in the peculiar form of *gula* rents called *shanja*, and the enhancement of lump rents to be noticed a little further on, the whole process called *jamabandi*, involving the measurement of land and adjustment of rent depends upon one thing—the mutual consent of the two parties, *viz.*, the zemindar on the one hand and the general body of the ryots on the other. The fact is most significant, for, if the tendency of the existing laws and the Judicial system is to put an end to this sort of amicable adjustment, it were well for the country that no such laws had been in existence. I do not however mean to say that legislative interference is altogether unnecessary ; for I cannot uphold the ancient custom in its entirety. We ought, however, to study it closely, in order to effect a real improvement upon it.

From my personal experience of the way in which *jamabandi* is carried out, I am bound to admit that the basis of the compromise

in this case—and I think the same is true of the two other cases—is fear and respect on the part of the ryot and politic forbearance on the part of the zemindar. And a due analysis of the facts will show, in the background, nothing else but an appeal to physical strength. The zemindar calculates in the ultimate first place, that a very high *nirikh* will fail, in case the prices happen to fall. In the second place he measures his strength with that of the general body of ryots. If the matter has finally to be decided in court, he looks also to the length of his purse. But in past times, to meet the organized resistance called *dharmaghat*, his final resource was his *lathials*. And even at the present day he requires this assistance, in order to supplement the authority of the court. The ryots find their strength on the other hand, only, in their numbers and their capacity for combination. But the latter element, in the case of the Bengal tenants is naturally feeble, and hence for a long time, conscious weakness has fostered in them an abject subservience. But the utter demoralization into which the ryots might sink from this circumstance, has been barely prevented by the Shasters, for according to their dictates, which are still sufficiently powerful, this subservience is regarded as the out-come of the sentiment of moral devotion.

In truth, however, the sole protection against rack-renting is the economical cause, that a high *nirikh* soon throws into the hands of the zemindar a large number of vacant holdings.

The principle of competition involved in rack-renting is utterly foreign to the character of the natives of this country: for they have not the intelligence and the circumspection to judge of their assets and liabilities, and are not unoften found to regret their bids, whenever they make any, in open competition. Competition being thus set aside, individual contracts as regards rents will also have to be discarded, and with these the element of time proposed to be introduced in the rent-law, for regulating the question of assessment.

The only thing which seems adapted to the wants of this community is a *nirikh* uniformly applicable to large bodies of ryots. But this *nirikh* can be settled only by the process (now obsolete), of division and valuation of produce, or, by the superior power hitherto exercised by the zemindar over his ryots. Thus while the latter indicates an uncertain state of things, calling for legislative interference, the former furnishes the principle by which such interference might be successfully made.

Let us now turn to the enhancement of *lump rents*.—It will be recollected that *nirikh* rents are eventually converted into lump rents, that when a zemindar cannot carry out a *jarip-jamabandi*, he seeks partially to attain his object, by adding so much

per rupee, and that this arrangement is more easily assented to by the ryots than that of *jarip* and *jamabandi*. Such additions are called *abwabs*; they have reference only to lump rents, and are inconsistent with the *nirikh* system.

All *abwabs* may be comprised in two or three classes. In the first place they are either tax-*abwabs* or rent-*abwabs*; and secondly, the latter are again divisible into two classes—casual and permanent. By tax-*abwabs* I mean the sayer rates, excise taxes, taxes on monopolies, also fines, *nazars*, &c. These have nothing to do with land; and they prevail, notwithstanding the remission granted to the zemindars of these taxes during the Permanent Settlement. This open contravention of the law presents another signal instance of the powerlessness of the Legislature to cope with natural sociological phenomena. The ancient relation between the zemindars and the peasantry enables the former to collect from the latter these illegal dues, and nobody seems to think that they are at all improper. But these tax-*abwabs* do not in any way affect the rent question.

The casual *abwabs* are levied on such occasions as *sradh*, *anna-prasan*, marriage, &c. They are sometimes raised by fixing a rate per rupee of the rent, at others, by dividing a lump sum previously agreed to, rateably according to the amount of rent paid by each tenant. They thus become part of the rent; but being levied only for the occasion, they have not the permanent character of rent. In fact, they are only forced benevolences; and as they are always imposed with the consent of the ryots, I do not see how the Legislature can successfully interfere, for the purpose of putting an end to this evil.

The permanent *abwabs* are regular additions to the rent, at so much per rupee, and are generally imposed upon some plea or other, as for instance, the income tax, *parbuni*, *ojunkami*, *batta*, *rash kharcha*, &c.

Now an addition like this, if made on a *nirikh*, would only produce a new *nirikh*, and its character, as an *abwab*, would be altogether lost. For a *nirikh* is a sum of money paid per *bighá*, and an addition to this, of so much per rupee would only be a fresh rate per *bighá*. Similarly, there can be no addition to the lump-rent, by way of a *nirikh*; for it must be always calculated with reference to the area of land occupied, with which lump rents have nothing to do. Thus, *abwabs* can be imposed only upon lump rents, and the increment of a *nirikh* must always have the character of a fresh *nirikh*.

The lump rents to be enhanced uniformly in respect of all ryots, must be raised by a rate per rupee. This mode of enhancement would attain the perfection of science, if it could be fixed with reference to the average depreciation of money, since the time

when the lump rents were last adjusted ; but perhaps such scientific accuracy is practically unattainable. It does not however appear, that there is anything so very culpable in the permanent *abwabs* as to make it a fit subject for the strong condemnation which is invariably heaped upon it. What then may be the cause of this bitter sentiment against these *abwabs* ?

We can account for the fact, only by supposing that the rent-*abwabs* have been confounded with *tax-abwabs*, and the latter have excited the jealousy of a foreign power whose life as a nation has been devoted to distinguish between the rights of the sovereign and the rights of the people. In this country, however, we have had both revenue-*abwabs* and rent-*abwabs* ; and the former can be traced very far back into Muhammadan times. And close study of the revenue *abwabs* even will prove what I have endeavoured to establish, *viz.*, that payment of rent by *nirikh* and in the lump cannot prevail simultaneously.

The misconception into which the framers of the Permanent Settlement had fallen, in respect of the *abwabs*, led to the apparently wholesome provisions that the zemindar should enter into written engagements with their ryots upon the basis of the pargana rates, and that they should consolidate all the *abwabs* into a lump sum. How little this was suited to the circumstances of the country, would be evident from the fact that, where *nirikh* rents prevailed, written engagements were perfectly superfluous, and where the lump-rents were prevalent, the consolidation of the *abwabs* with them was calculated only to furnish the zemindar with an augmented basis (*assai*) for the levy of future *abwabs*. The result has been a failure, which is the inevitable fate of all misconceived legislation ; for we all know that *pottahs* are now resorted to, not so much with a view to preserve an accurate record of the contract made between the zemindar and the ryot, as to provide a safeguard against the unexpected consequences of a foreign and ill-understood system of laws.

But the worst confusion remains to be noticed. The space at my command would not allow me to enter into a criticism of the long discussion between Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, and I cannot therefore deal minutely with all the points in which they were mistaken, in consequence of their deep-rooted foreign associations. But those who are conversant with the subject will easily recognize in the following *précis* the salient points of that discussion.

(1.) The zemindar is vested with the entire property in the soil (Reg. II of 1793, Preamble).

(2.) He is entitled only to the difference between a certain proportion of the annual produce of every bighá of land demandable by the sovereign power according to the custom of the country,

and the amount payable into the public treasury. (Reg. XIX, XXXVII, and XLIV of 1793, Preambles.)

(3.) The Government reserves to itself the right of legislating about the mutual claims of the zemindar and the ryot in the produce of land. (Reg. I of 1793 Sec. 8 Cl. 1.)

These provisions, which formed the basis of the Permanent Settlement, when viewed together, will not fail to show their impolicy and their inconsistency.

The mistake did not end here. More than three score years afterwards, the Government set about making a law for the protection of the ryot. And what they did was to protect a class of ryots from ejection and to give the zemindar the full right of re-entry in respect of the holdings of all the rest. That is to say, in the one case the zemindar's absolute right to the soil was recognized, and in the other case, that right was held liable to be extinguished by reason of the right of re-entry not being exercised for a space of 12 years. An Englishman, howsoever favorably inclined towards the ryot, cannot divest himself of the idea that the landlord is primarily vested with an absolute right in the soil.

A few more years pass away, and the cases of *Hills vs. Issur Ghose*, and *Thakoorani Dassi vs. Bissessur Mookerji*, come before the High Court for adjudication. The Chief Justice builds his opinion entirely on the absolute right declared to be vested in the zemindar, and the majority of the Judges rely upon the limited ownership of the landlord as enunciated in the second clause of the *précis* given above. And yet the palpable inconsistency between the two, seems never to have presented itself to any one in a sufficiently strong light.

Sir John Shore clearly perceived, that if the zemindar happened to be vested with the absolute property in the soil, the ryot would necessarily be left entirely to his mercy, and thrown beyond the reach of legislative interference. But he, too, does not appear to have considered that when the sovereign's right to the soil was confessedly only a *proportion* of the produce, it was beyond the power of the Government to invest the zemindar with an absolute property therein. Lord Cornwallis seems to have altogether failed in realizing the nature of the difficulty, and at last to have resorted to a compromise which has proved worse than the measures originally proposed on either side of the controversy. For, the mere coupling together of two conditions—one vesting in the zemindar the entire property, and the other limiting it to an *undefined proportion* of the produce of every bighá, could never remove their inherent inconsistencies. The remarks of His Lordship, so often quoted by writers on revenue and rent questions in Bengal, if closely examined, will appear to be meaningless platitudes of an ill-informed foreigner anxious to promote the interests

of the E. I. Company whom he served, and who, while seeking to elevate the status of the zemindars, was at the same time eager to protect the ryot from over-taxation. That the sovereign power had the right to legislate for all its subjects, and that the zemindars had no right to levy taxes, could not be sufficient answer to the questions whether the zemindars' right to receive rent was to be in any way restricted, and whether the sovereign would be justified in introducing any such restriction in future, after it had once declared the entire property in the soil to be vested in them. But that which appears to me to be the weakest part of his argument is where he said that although the zemindars were made the absolute owners of the soil, they were not entitled to enhance the rents except in one or two particular ways! Evidently he was labouring under the misconception that all other ways involved the objectionable tax-*abwabs*.

Whatever may be thought of these mistakes of Lord Cornwallis, it was in the Legislature, at all events, inexcusable not to have perceived, in 1859, that the zemindar, whenever he allowed his land to be cultivated by another person (ryot), was entitled to no more than a certain proportion of the produce of land, and that by throwing difficulties in the way of his obtaining the same, when the zemindar was allowed the right of re-entry against all non-occupancy ryots, the legislature was simply paving the way for the ultimate destruction of the occupancy ryots and a wholesale rack-renting of the non-occupancy tenants.

Moreover, nothing can excuse the indifference of the Legislature in having up to the present moment, left the question of proportion entirely unsettled. The zemindar, as well as the Government, when dealing directly with the ryots, are entitled by law, to only a certain proportion of the produce. The filiation which has been shown to exist between *bhag*, *nirikh* and lump rents, points also to the same conclusion; but nobody knows what the particular proportion is. Whether we look to the old regulations, to the evolution of *nirikh* rents, the development of the metayer system, or to the parallel cited from the history of Akbar's settlement, or to the commutation of tithes-payments, all indicate that there should be a fixed rule of proportion for the assessment of rent; and it is therefore the imperative duty of the Government to investigate the subject as far as possible with a view to definite legislation as to what the proportion ought to be.

It is a great satisfaction to find that the able administrator, who is now at the head of the Bengal Government, has discovered the error of the High Court which attempted to supply the defects of the Legislature by establishing "a rule of proportion" of which the common ratio was wanting. It is no less gratifying to observe that the opinion advanced here, about the question of pro-

portion in the matter of rents, is substantially the same as those of the Commissioners of Orissa, Chittagong, and Rajshaye. The *précis* of opinions published in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette** shows that thirteen different authorities were consulted, eliciting seven distinct opinions. Of the seven, only two have been severally endorsed by so many as three persons each, and of these two again one opinion amounts to this, that the difficulty is incapable of solution, and the other, which is concurred in by the three Commissioners named above, is in unison with the opinion here advanced. It follows, therefore, that the balance of opinion is in favor of the Government declaring the particular proportions of produce which, in its judgment, are due respectively to the zemindar and to the ryot.

I now pass on to consider the important suggestions offered by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, which proceed on somewhat different hypotheses and in a different line; and I shall endeavour to show wherein I venture to think alterations may with advantage be made in the proposed scheme, by which the subject in view may be attained with greater certainty and more directly. The proposal has to be viewed in two different aspects; firstly, with reference to the current notion that the rent paid by non-occupancy ryots should be accepted as the standard of adjustment for the rents of the occupancy ryot; secondly, in relation to the contrary doctrine put forward here, that this notion is altogether foreign to the customs and the rent system of this country.

His Honor says:—

“I would propose that the difference be ascertained between the rent of the occupancy ryot and the average rent of the non-occupancy ryot in the district; that of this difference a certain share be allotted to the occupancy ryot and the remainder to the landlord, and that the rent be adjusted accordingly; provided always that the rent of the occupancy ryot be fixed less than that of the non-occupancy by 20 per cent., and that full allowance be made for the value of improvements made by, or at the expense of, the ryot;” and further “that the said occupancy ryot ** be allowed—

One-fifth of the said difference, if he be of 20 years’ standing;

One-third, if he be of thirty years’ standing;

Two-thirds, if he be of forty years’ standing.”

(Paras 15 and 16 of the Minute, dated April 18th, 1876.)

To bring out clearly the points I wish to urge, it will be convenient to make use of the following symbols:—

Let A represent the average rent of non-occupancy ryots in the district.

B, the rent of an occupancy ryot of 20 years’ standing.

* Dated the 26th April 1876.

∴ $A-B$ = The difference between the two.

¹ $(A-B)$ is the beneficiary interest of the occupancy ryot as proposed in the *latter* part of the scheme.

And $\frac{1}{2} A$ or 20 per cent. of A , the same interest proposed in the *earlier* portion as the general limit on the enhancement of rent of *all* occupancy ryots.

Now, $\frac{1}{2} (A-B)$ must always be less than $\frac{1}{2} A$, so that the special provision, with reference to the ryot of 20 years' standing, appears to be needless, after the general provision that the rent of the occupancy ryot should be fixed less than that of the non-occupancy ryot by 20 per cent.

The further provision anent the two other classes of occupancy ryots, though logically unassailable, will, I fear, so complicate matters, that the result will only be an enormous increase of litigation.

The other objections to the proposed scheme bearing upon the question of the non-occupancy rate being accepted as the standard of assessment, need only a passing notice after the foregoing exposition.

1. It is hardly necessary to repeat, that a distinction between ejectable (or non-occupancy) and non-ejectable (or occupancy) ryots, which has time for its basis, when coupled with a further distinction between the two, as to the rate of assessment necessarily confines the advantages to a limited class of ryots, but the disadvantages extend to the general body of tenants, and its inevitable tendency is the expansion of rack-renting and the extinction of the favored class.

2. It is not mentioned whether a classification of soils will be attended to, in connection with the average non-occupancy rate. But otherwise, the proposed principle of average will disturb the natural development of the rent system, which has been characterised by a differentiation of soils and unification of rates. The proposed scheme of averages may keep up the position of the zemindar, but it will be sure to fall with unequal pressure upon, and result in great hardship to, ryots holding various kinds of soil, and those again in different proportions.

3. The *nirikh* system, taken by itself, or as a development of the *bhag* system, and the privilege of ejectable ryots to merge after a time into the general body of tenants, and thenceforward to claim an equal assessment with them, militate against the standard of assessment being derived from the rates of the exceptional class of *utbandi* or non-occupancy ryots. And the further elaboration of the principle founded on the duration of occupancy with respect to the several species of occupancy ryots, is sure to heighten the evil alluded to, and will only drive matters to a hopeless state of confusion.

4. Humanity requires that the sympathy of the Legislature

should be extended to the actual cultivator in preference to the sleeping middleman.

5. The zemindar cannot legally demand from the non-occupancy ryot more than "a certain" proportion of the produce, unless the declaration to that effect is formally repealed, but there does not seem to be any reason why it should be repealed.*

I have now to make some suggestions of my own. I should mention here that they first appeared in a pamphlet published last year, but were hardly supported by any arguments.

It has been already said that the only way in which the rent-law can be placed upon a satisfactory footing is by declaring the respective shares of the cultivator and the zemindar in the produce of land. This is, however, a question of such extreme difficulty that the Legislature cannot but proceed with caution. If it had been decided at the time of the Permanent Settlement, as it ought to have been, the immense difficulties which have since grown up would no doubt have been completely prevented.

Although, therefore, everything points to the course that the Legislature should define the extent of the zemindar's right in land, yet it must be admitted that a uniform rule of division all over the country how requisite soever in point of principle may be exceedingly hazardous in practical application. Instead, therefore, of one rule being fixed for ever, it would, I think, be better at first to fix the shares for a limited period as an experimental measure; similarly, instead of one rule being made applicable uniformly all over the country, it may be advisable to prescribe separate rules, each rule being applicable within specified divisions of the country.

An important question to be disposed of in this respect is whether the shares ought to be defined out of the net or the gross produce of the land. I would propose the latter course, and for the following reasons:—

1st. Division of the *net* produce is contrary to the principles of the *bhag* or metayer system, which has been shown to underlie the entire rent system of the country.

2nd. Such a course tends, as pointed out by the late Justice Shambhu Nath Pandit, to make the ryot regardless of the cost of cultivation. In fact, it would tempt him to be more or less extravagant in this respect upon the expectation that the larger the capital he employs the greater will be the profit allowed him by the zemindar in the shape of interest.

3rd. Moreover, this method would, with reference to the question of onus of proof, cause to the ryot greater hardship and throw greater obstacles in the way of an amicable adjustment of

rent with the zemindar than the method proposed in the suggestions submitted below.

The suggestions offered will be found to arrange themselves under two heads—one relating to the question of assessment, and the other to that of occupancy and certain collateral points connected with the subject.

I. *Classification of Lands*.—The Legislature should lay down certain rules for the classification of lands, keeping in view the productive powers of the soil and the cost of cultivation. For instance, when the cost of production borne by the ryot for any land falls below a certain fraction of the value of the gross produce thereof, on an average of several years, say, below one-third, the land should be regarded as first-class land. When the cost exceeds that fraction but is less than some other prescribed fraction, say two-thirds, the land should rank as second class; and so on till a point is reached, at which the cultivation charges become equal to the value of produce on an average of good and bad years. Supposing three grades are formed, the cultivation charges for the third class would range between the value of two-thirds and the whole of the gross produce.

II. *Division of Shares*.—Lands being thus classified, the Legislature should, for each class, declare the maximum share of the gross produce payable to the zemindar by the ryot. (I say maximum share, for in this way, each class would have a maximum and a minimum limit; and within those limits the parties would be free to make whatever engagement is best suited to their wants. The judicial officer too, would thus have the means of making a fair exercise of his discretionary power). The commutation price, when rent is paid in money, should be left to be fixed by the parties themselves, as in the case of the *shanja* process, or by the ordinary judicial procedure; but a period of time should be definitely settled for forming an average of the produce of any piece of land and for the commutation prices thereof. The assessment should be made with strict regard to the staples actually raised, the cultivator being allowed full discretion in the choice of the staples to be grown.

The following table will, perhaps, serve to present the suggestions in a clearer light. The figures have been taken arbitrarily, except that in all cases the zemindar has been allowed two parts and the cultivator one part, out of three of the net produce; but I do not at all insist upon this numerical ratio of 2 : 1; and I confess my utter inability to suggest what *ought* to be the particular shares of the two parties out of gross or net produce.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Class of land.	Cost of production, gross produce being 9.	Net produce.	SHARE OUT OF GROSS PRODUCE DUE TO		CORRESPONDING SHARE OUT OF NET PRODUCE DUE TO	
			Zemindar	Cultivators	Zemindar	Cultivators
I.	0 to 3	9 to 6	6 to 4	3 to 5	6 to 4	3 to 2
II.	3 to 6	6 to 3	4 to 2	5 to 7	4 to 2	2 to 1
• III.	6 to 9	3 to 0	2 to 0	7 to 9	2 to 0	1 to 0

III. *Jurisdiction of Courts.*—That cognizance of the rules given above should be taken by courts of justice when their assistance is sought for by the parties, *i.e.*, in suits for enhancement or abatement of rent, in the case of occupancy ryots and in suits for arrears of rent, in that of non-occupancy ryots.

These three rules fall under the first head of the suggestions.

They are, to say the least, open to the objection that an inordinate amount of labour is necessary to carry them into practice. The difficulties which will have to be overcome in laying down the rules for classification of soils and division of produce, and which must afterwards attend their working, are by no means imaginary, or inconsiderable either. But it must be borne in mind that these difficulties are simply an inseparable accident of joint ownership in land; and that, being unavoidable, they ought never to be shrunk from. On the other hand, the toils of sound legislation are always rewarded by hearty co-operation of the people, and time and use wear out the roughness of the most complicated machinery.

I think the above suggestions are calculated to yield the following advantages:—

1. The whole of the cultivator class will be protected from rack-renting; the occupancy ryots completely, and the non-occupancy ryots in a partial measure.

2. The parties will be perfectly free to make whatever arrangements they please, but only so long as they do not happen to fall out and seek the protection of the courts. In so far as the rules will affect the liberty of the people, in making their engagements, the restriction will be due to the division of the property in the soil between the cultivator and the zemindar, a matter which must be recognised as an essential feature of the land

system of this country. The principles are based upon the metayer system and customs connected with the assessment of *nirikhs* and *jamabandi*.

3. The classification of land is based upon the principle observed in Todar Mull's settlement, and in the current practice of the zemindars, and will be found to be an improvement upon both.

4. The rules are calculated to make a first beginning towards the ultimate removal of the conflict about the property in the soil vested by the Permanent Settlement, as disclosed in the several Regulations previously referred to.

5. Together with the suggestions V and VI given below, the rules are calculated to raise the status of the ryot class as closely as the circumstances permit, to that of the Peasant Proprietors of Europe. And if the proportions are fairly regulated, the zemindar too will not be materially a loser, since it is well-known that he has not yet attempted to drive the non-occupancy ryot to the last extremities permitted by law.

6. Sub-encroachment, whether by zemindar or by the ryot, will be considerably checked, for the cultivator will always have his prescribed share of the produce, the balance alone being left to be divided between the middlemen of either denomination, according to their respective arrangements. The ryot, in fact, will have nothing to intercept from the amount legally demandable from his *kurfa* tenant, should he indulge in the pleasure of having any. And the intermediate proprietor will be restricted only to the portion assigned to him by his superior landlord.

7. When the assessment has to be defined by a court of justice, it will no longer be uncertain what portion of the produce ought to be awarded to the zemindar. Evidence will of course have to be gone into, in order to determine the average produce of land, the commutation price and the cost of cultivation. No amount of ingenuity can possibly avoid the labours connected with this portion of the business. But the rules here given have this advantage that they refer to facts contemporaneous with, or immediately preceding the time of, adjudication on the points.

The second part of my suggestions comprises the following:—

IV. *Definition of ryots' expenses.*—In fixing the limits of enhancement, the Legislature ought to declare specifically what kind of expenses are to be borne by the ryot and what by the zemindar, in order to entitle them to their respective shares of the produce. The law simply provides that the zemindar will be entitled to an enhancement of rent when the value of produce happens to have increased "otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot;" and Sir Richard Temple has proposed simply that "full allowance be made for the value of improvements made by, or at the expense of, the

ryot." But certain expenses have always to be borne by the ryot as the condition of the duties devolved upon him. It is therefore necessary to define in what cases, these expenses would entitle the ryot to more than the prescribed share of the produce.

As a rule, it may be suggested that whatever expenses are requisite for individual holdings, ought to be borne by the tenant alone; whereas those which call for the co-operation of many tenants, ought to devolve upon the zemindar, for obvious reasons.

V. *Sale and Pre-emption*.—The occupancy ryot ought to have a free right of selling his tenure. The restriction of this right although based upon custom, legislative enactment, and the ruling of the High Court in the case of Narendro Narain Roy previously noticed, is undoubtedly obstructive to progress, and therefore deserves to be removed upon considerations of higher interests than those of either the zemindar or the ryot. But to secure this advantage to the ryot, he ought, in fairness, to concede to the zemindar something like a right of pre-emption such as, I believe, existed among the ancient Romans (see Maine's *Ancient Law*, 3rd Edition, page 301). What I mean is, that the tenant should be bound, when desiring to transfer his right of occupancy, to give due notice to his zemindar, and that the latter should have the right to claim precedence over any other bidders, on paying the highest sum offered to the vendor.

VI. *Eviction*. Simultaneously with a free right of transfer, due protection ought, I think, to be given to the occupancy ryot against ejectment for arrears of rent. This is necessary in order to make the law consistent with the beneficiary interest in land to which the occupancy ryot is held entitled. If the tenant falls into arrears, his holding ought to be sold. The sale procedure may require alterations to suit the convenience of the parties, but I cannot but think it very hard that a tenant having a beneficiary interest in the soil, should be liable to be deprived of the same, for failure to pay rents within a prescribed date, and still remain liable for the amount of those arrears.

But if justice requires this further concession in favour of the ryot, an equivalent concession ought, I think, to be made in favour of the zemindar, considering that his right of eviction is based, as shown before, upon ancient and widely spread custom. I would therefore suggest the following, by way of compensation, to the zemindar:—

VII. *Redemption*. That a right of redemption be granted to the zemindar with respect to the occupancy rights of the ryot, that is to say, some equitable provision based on the principle which governs the Land Acquisition Act, should be made with a view to enable the zemindar to buy up the interests of the occupancy ryots in cases of necessity.

I am aware that a suggestion like this is calculated to awaken angry feelings in the minds of Ryots' Advocates; but I think a dispassionate consideration of the subject will show that it is not so unreasonable after all. I cannot here enter upon a full discussion on the point, but it will be perceived that this is the only way in which the expectations of Lord Cornwallis, with regard to the introduction of more valuable staples than the ordinary food grains, can possibly be fulfilled; and that in this way alone the present method of indigo and poppy cultivation, in fact the English method of farming, can be carried out, without the aid of the advance-system, which is at best but of a questionable character.

The last three suggestions can be shortly stated thus: Let the ryot have the right of free transfer in exchange for a right of pre-emption granted to the zemindar; and let the latter have the right of redemption, by conceding in lieu of it the right of eviction.

J. C. G.

ART. VI.—THE MIDNAPORE SYSTEM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.

N EARLY four years have elapsed since the date of Sir G. Campbell's Resolution * setting apart Rs. 4,00,000 from Provincial Funds for the extension of primary education in the Lower Provinces. This grant has been maintained in the years which have followed† even amidst considerable financial pressure, and its effect in swelling the number of institutions connected with Government and the number of pupils shown as under instruction has been patent and undeniable; while on the other hand, how far it has actually improved or added to the existing elementary education of the country is a question which has been much controverted and which is legitimately open to discussion.

In the very outset ‡ of the new scheme, a sort of experimental system was sanctioned by Government for the Midnapore district; although submitted in a very hasty and imperfect form, so much so that almost every detail of it has been since modified, this system has been carried out as regards its fundamental principles during the three years which have since elapsed, and it is the object of this paper to discuss the history of the principles on which this system rests, to describe it in detail, show how far it is faithful to these principles, and what prospects it affords of success.

The field of elementary education in the Lower Provinces is already well strewn with the *disjecta membra* of past controversies. From the epoch of one of the first great figures in the arena, not inappropriately named Adam, to the resolution of the Bengal Government which forms the starting point of the newest endeavours to educate the masses, we have a space of nearly 40 years, a period which embraces almost ten reigns as are the reigns of Indian Governors, which is twice the period since the Calcutta University inaugurated those examinations which are now watched with interest in almost every village in Bengal, and which is almost four times the average pendulum swing of Indian administration as it oscillates first in the direction of one set of principles and then in that of their antagonists. Primary education has been no exception in regard to these oscillations, the pendulum has more than once travelled far in one direction, then paused and retraced its steps, and so much of a retrospect of the past as brings into clear outline the rival principles between which it has hesi-

* 30th September 1872.

† It seems, however, that this year some retrenchment will be enforced.

‡ Government letter to Commissioner of Burdwan Division, 6th January 1873.

tated, is indispensable towards estimating the recent measures of Government at their true value.

Elementary instruction among the Bengalis, especially the Hindu Bengalis, has always been very widespread. Mr. Adam, whose Reports, with a preface by Mr. Long, were reprinted in 1868, estimated in 1835 that the number of village *patshalas* in Bengal and Behar exceeded 100,000. This must have been an over-estimate, but that they were very numerous and were deep-seated in the affections of the people, in fact, that they were in every sense of the word indigenous, admits of no doubt; and Mr. Adam contended that "they presented the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or national education can be established. We may deepen and extend the foundations; we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure, but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised."*

At first sight this view commends itself so obviously to the judgment that it might have been supposed that it would never have been displaced. Nevertheless in the outset it was not adopted, and though from the date of the celebrated despatch of the Court of Directors in 1854 it again became the accepted doctrine with those who governed the country; it never seems to have gained the hearty acquiescence of the Bengal Director of Public Instruction, while it was almost given up in theory, and it is not too much to say, generally abandoned in practice in the seven or eight years preceding Sir G. Campbell's Resolution.

Mr. Adam's recommendations were to undertake the task of directing these numerous *patshalas*, by instituting "public and periodical examinations of the teachers and scholars of those institutions, and the distribution of rewards to the teachers proportioned to their own qualifications, and the attainments of their scholars; the examinations to be conducted and the rewards bestowed by officers appointed by Government."†

After an educational survey or census, which he rightly considered of the utmost importance, he proposed that the examiner should fix upon a central point in two or three thannas for assembling the teachers, and that rewards in books should be distributed as the result of efficiency. Money rewards, he admitted, would produce the greatest effect, but he deprecated them in the commencement: first, on account of the expense to the State; secondly, the avoidance of scandals and corruption; thirdly, because it would be playing out the trump card at once, whereas if held in reserve it could always be fallen back upon, if stronger stimulants were found necessary. "Still further by dispensing, with these payments,

* Letter to Lord William Bentinck, para 4, dated 2nd January 1835.

† *Adam's Reports* by Long, p. 260.

the teachers will be thrown entirely on their own qualifications, and on the support of parents for success in their profession ; whereas in bestowing money rewards it will be difficult, though not impossible, to ascertain the amount that will have the effect of *stimulating the zeal of teachers without checking the exertions and sacrifices of parents.*" *

Mr. Adam further proposed that the best teachers should have their names published in the official gazette ; should be made eligible for admission to the Normal Schools which he would establish for the purpose of their instruction ; and, last of all, that those who continued to do well and improve themselves should be given *jaghirs* or grants of land for the express purpose of endowing the institutions over which they presided. He calculated the expense of his proposals at about Rs. 50,000 per annum for each Commissioner's Division, and therefore about 5 lacs per annum if extended over the whole of modern Bengal.

Mr. Adam's proposals were referred to the Council of Education, which decided that they were impracticable and would involve more expense than their author supposed ;—they adhered to their former opinion that "our efforts should be at first concentrated to the chief towns or sudder stations of districts, and to the improvement of education among the higher and middling classes of the population ; in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars an educational reform will descend to the Rural Vernacular Schools, and its benefits be rapidly transfused among all those excluded, in the first instance, by abject want from a participation in its advantages." †

In 1842 the Court of Directors expressed their concurrence in this view, though they added that after the wants of the upper and middle classes had been provided, and a complete series of vernacular class books prepared "then Mr. Adam's proposals might be taken up on a liberal and effective scale with some fairer prospects of success." ‡

Thus, after mature deliberation, reconstruction and not gradual improvement, the downward filtration theory and not organised efforts to provide instruction for the masses, was declared to be the adopted policy of Government. Both Mr. Long and Mr. Howell consider that the result has falsified these expectations. If the policy has been a mistake it has certainly been one of those splendid mistakes which raise the history of a country from a dead level and stamp a permanent impression upon it. It has led to the establishment on the firmest basis of a number of institutions whose vitality is unquestioned, whose quality is of the highest, and

* P. 276.

† *Long's Preface*, p. 12.

‡ Despatch of 23rd February 1842.

whose hold on the affections of the country is most conspicuous. But looking at it solely from the point of view of the education of the masses, its effect has been unquestionably injurious. Thus far, indeed there has been filtration downwards, that the supply of indigenous teachers is much more abundant than before; but a moment's reflection must show that to entice away the wealthiest, the most influential, the most intelligent, and the most paying pupils of the indigenous *patshalas*, could not but be conducive to their decay and deterioration. The better classes were the prop of the *patshalas* while the masses shared the benefits of them; with the defection of the former, their decline naturally commenced. On this point, as on any other where we find ourselves in agreement with him, we are but too glad to avail ourselves of the intimate knowledge and experience of Babu Bhudeb Mukerji, and we commend his words to the consideration of all advocates of the downward filtration theory. Writing in 1863, he says: "In fact, the peculiar circumstances of the country had for a long time past *created a diversity of interest*, so to say, in educational matters, between the *will-to-do* and the *lower classes of the community*, the supervision which the better classes alone are competent to exercise over educational establishments had been in a great measure withdrawn from the *patshalas*. The remuneration of the teachers of these institutions had also fallen off with the interest of those who had the means to pay adequately, and an inferior set of men accordingly came to occupy the once honorable post of *Gurumohashoy*."* What the extent and rapidity of this decline has been, it is difficult to estimate with confidence, owing to the inaccuracy, as we must believe, of the original estimate of 100,000 *patshalas*. In 1867, Mr. Long estimated 30,000 as the number still in existence in Bengal and Behar;† but the estimate of 1872 made on the basis of the census and supplemented by further information, showed only 19,937‡ schools of all kinds in the Lower Provinces, of which over 3,000 being institutions connected with Government, the residue, constituting the indigenous *patshalas*, could not have exceeded 17,000, many of which were in the most miserable condition and contained only three or four pupils. That the decay in the indigenous institutions of the country must have been rapid, after the rejection of Mr. Adam's proposals, seems therefore equally indicated by theory and facts. Dr. Mouat in the Jail Report of 1867 reported a gradual decline in the percentage of convicts who could read and write; and it is probable that once beyond the immediate influence of Calcutta, the percentage throughout the whole population has similarly declined.

* Report of 1862-63, p. 218.

† This omits Mymensing, but it

‡ Letter to Sir J. Lawrence, 25th August 1867, includes Assam.

To return, however, to the history of the controversy. It appeared above that the Court of Directors while they accepted the views of the Council of Education, accorded to them only a qualified and temporary approval, and up to the present day, at least up to the year 1872, it will be found that the Home Government always leaned more towards primary education than did the Local Government, while the Local Government leaned more towards it than did the Educational Department of the Lower Provinces. On the other hand, the Educational Department knew what it was about, which is more than can be said for the superior authorities. Who the masses were for whom education was to be provided was not explained; and often a resolute paragraph insisting on elementary instruction being afforded, was deprived of all its weight by going on to describe as the desideratum, an institution which, in the state of the Lower Provinces, would be at once appropriated as a Marlborough or a Cheltenham, instead of filling the place of an elementary village school.

But to continue; in or before 1845, Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. P., commenced his well-known efforts on behalf of popular education. In that year he issued a circular to all district officers in which, after pointing out the importance of primary instruction, he desired them "to encourage, both by kindly notice and by occasional rewards the most distinguished of the village teachers and of their scholars; they might be aided by the distribution of books" and "*carry the people with you, aid their efforts rather than remove from them all stimulus to exertion by making all the effort yourself.*" Words deserving to be written in gold! though it seems as if the first person to ignore them was their author, in his famous hulkabundi system in which a vernacular school was established for every circle of villages, and paid for by a compulsory cess.

Mr., then Sir J. Thomason died in 1853; and in 1854 we have the celebrated despatch of the Court of Directors which is the charter of the modern educational system. This despatch was of a very comprehensive character, and hence admitted of being construed diversely as regards the relative importance which it attached to superior and elementary instruction. The same may be said in a less degree of the great despatch of 1859; and hence, disputed over as they have been step by step, the most satisfactory exposition of their sense will be that put forward by the Secretary of State himself in 1863 in which this precise question is discussed.

"I have noticed with some surprise the remarks of the present Chief Commissioner of Oude and of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, with regard to the principle on which Government should proceed in its measures for the promotion of education in India. It would appear to be the opinion of these gentlemen

that Government should for the present limit its measures to providing the means of education for the higher classes, and that the education of the lower classes should be left to be effected hereafter, when the classes above them shall have not only learnt to appreciate the advantages of education for themselves, but have become desirous of extending its benefits to those below them. Without entering into a discussion on the question here involved, it is sufficient to remark that the sentiments of the Home authorities with regard to it have already been declared with sufficient distinctness, and that they are entirely opposed to the views put forward by Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Atkinson. It was one great object proposed in the despatch of the 19th July 1854, to provide for the extension to the general population of those means of obtaining an education suitable to their station in life, which had theretofore been too exclusively confined to the higher classes; and it is abundantly clear, from Lord Stanley's despatch of 7th April 1859, that Her Majesty's Government entertained, at that time, the same sentiments which had been expressed by the Home authorities in 1854.

"It is probable that neither Mr. Wingfield nor Mr. Atkinson would propose to carry out their views to the full extent of their literal meaning; but I think it necessary to declare that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of sanctioning a departure from the principles already deliberately laid down; and that, while they desire that the means of obtaining an education calculated to fit them for their higher position and responsibilities should be afforded to the upper classes of society in India, they deem it equally incumbent on the Government to take, at the same time, all suitable measures for extending the benefits of education to those classes of the community 'who, as observed in the despatch of July 1854,' are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts."

The following comments of Mr. Howell on this controversy and on the sequel to it are well worthy of reproduction.

"To the views expressed in these extracts the Home Government has consistently adhered—the latest instructions (Despatch May 26th, 1870) being that 'Government expenditure should be mainly directed to the provision of an elementary education for the mass of the people.' But so strongly opposed is this view to the traditional policy of the preceding forty years, that it has not as yet in any Province been sufficiently realised. Why it has not been realised is a difficult question, only to be approached *per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*. It is not that the educational policy prescribed from England has been directly opposed; it has simply not been carried out, partly, I venture to think, owing to the strong tradition of former years, and partly, perhaps, owing

to the direction given by the Educational Departments, recruited, as a rule, by men of English University distinctions.”*

Thus, so far as the Government is concerned, the downward filtration theory was absolutely condemned, and most judges will probably agree in the wisdom of this decision. Looking back from the vantage ground of experience, it seems difficult now to see why it should be supposed that it was for the interest of the upper classes (we mean such narrow interest as men of circumscribed views perceive) that education conveyed to them should be extended downwards to the lower classes. While in all society there must be a gradation of classes, such gradation may extend over the gap between slavery and absolute authority or it may fluctuate between very narrow limits. The lower classes may be the legal slaves or serfs of the upper classes, or they may groan under the virtual servitude entailed by freedom of contract when population treads too closely on the heels of subsistence. On the other hand, the lower classes may, as in America, rule the upper classes politically, and only serve them socially under the indirect protest that they are to be called helps and are to have the privilege of a common table. In choosing between these widely diverse forms of relationship it is far from certain that the upper classes are best off socially or intellectually in that last described, while it is quite certain that they will not *think* themselves so. Hence, that popular education should be made to depend, as on its sole prop, on the upper classes desiring this state of things, and being ready to exert themselves to bring it about, by levelling up the classes below them, is the safest way of ensuring its neglect. Neither is it at all certain that the unintentional reflex action of high education among the upper classes will be to improve that of the masses. From the days of Egypt, or at least of Athens, to those of the Southern States of America, mankind has often witnessed the spectacle of a state of society in which polish and education were at their height among a small minority while the majority were in a state of absolute bondage. What good reason was there then for supposing that the higher classes, if well educated, would be in a hurry to level up the lower classes in Bengal? Of course the mainspring of education being the improved prospects anticipated for it, so far as those prospects or even the delusive hope of them extended, so far would the new system of education successfully spread; but society cannot be all composed of Keranis and Mokhtars, a line must be reached at which the prospect of employment will become too weak to stimulate parents to send their sons to school, and that line will be the asymptote to the curve of the downward filtration of education.

* Howell's notes, 1872. p. 61.

While, however, the despatches are positive as regards the direct efforts that are to be made towards educating the masses, they are not so clear as to how far this ought to be accomplished by organizing entirely new elementary schools, or by patronising and improving those which were indigenous. On this point, a most material one, the opinions of those most in favour of elementary education have been much divided, while even those who have spoken in favour of the improving system have often in practice, perhaps unintentionally, acted adversely to it. Mr. Woodrow, the Nestor of education in Bengal, and now at last at the head of the department, seems to have been the first officer of Government who tried the experiment of improvement on a definite and sustained system. This was by what is known as the circle system, which commenced, as he says, by Mr. Sandys and Mr. Long, was introduced by Mr. Woodrow into the Government operations in the 24-Pergunnahs some twenty years ago. We were going to say that it remains in operation to this day, were it not for its disestablishment by the Committee of that district in 1874 at a meeting, the proceedings of which are so graphically described at p. 15 of the Annual Report for 1874-5.

Still we must contend that the circle system is not well adapted to the improvement of indigenous schools *en masse*. There are two attitudes which Government officers may assume in dealing with the indigenous schools and their teachers. Their tone may be to say to them in effect: "You are the institutions to which we look to impart the elements of instruction to the masses; you teach them something, something moreover that they evidently value and care to learn, you have their confidence, we have not. Go on, therefore, with our good wishes in fulfilling the task for which circumstances have marked you out, we will not rashly interfere with your methods or spoil by meddling your time-honoured work, but still we do know that measured by proper standards you are greatly deficient, and hence we offer you rewards if you will let them be distributed by our method. We know well enough that in the long run self-interest will tell, and while we will not forcibly reform or remodel you ourselves, the stimulus of rewards, of competition and emulation, will eventually convert you into the agents of your own reform. We hope that, as time goes on, you will by gradual flux approximate to our standard, while you will retain and carry on with you the confidence of the parents and the control of their children."

Such is the attitude adopted by Mr. Adam, such the system of Sir J. P. Grant, and such the policy of which the Midnapore system claims to be a consistent exponent.

On the other hand, the tone adopted in improving them may

be this: "As at present constituted you are good for nothing, we can hardly recognise any benefit in what you do, nor could we consent to countenance you at all if you are to remain such as you are; but you have got hold of the people, we wish to reach them, hence, *faute de mieux* we propose to take you as the *corpus vile* of our improvements; you had better therefore accept a subsidy from us and let us reorganise and remodel you, and, see if in spite of all the bad things said of you, we cannot make something useful out of you."

Thus put, few would deny that such an attitude would not deserve and could not anticipate success; yet, if not in word at least in deed, such has been the circle system. A certain number of indigenous *patshalas*, generally three, were selected adjacent to one another, and the *Gurus* were offered rewards to allow their *patshalas* to be taken in hand. This (being taken in hand) consisted in their being placed under a circle *pundit*, relatively a very superior teacher, on a salary of 15 Rupees per mensem. The circle *pundit* was to spend two days per week, or, at any rate, a third of his time in each *patshala*, and educate up to a higher standard the more promising pupils as well as, if possible, the *Guru*. After a time the best pupils in many cases accompanied the *pundit* on his rounds so that they were permanently under his instruction.

At the very outset, therefore, the indigenous *Guru* found himself superseded and degraded in the eyes of his pupils from the rank of teacher and director into that of a subordinate usher. His incapacity was proclaimed to parents and pupils by deeds more eloquent than any words, while instead of any gradual and insensible improvement the existing methods and arrangements were altered *in toto* with little hesitation and little scruple.

The consequence is easy to apprehend. The *Guru* for the sake of an improved income acquiesced—perhaps sometimes cordially acquiesced—but he and all his pupils at once assumed that the *patshala* had changed its character and become a unit in the Government scheme of *Kerani* manufacturing education. Those of the pupils, to be found be it remembered in almost all *patshalas*, who already intended to use their education as a ladder to employment, were delighted at the change. Their attendance and zeal would improve, their numbers would increase, while the masses, *i. e.*, those who knew that appointments were beyond their ambition, would desert the *patshala*, as no longer a place they had any right to frequent.

In a few years, under careful supervision, the circle *patshalas* became good and useful institutions for secondary education, they were on a par with, and often favorably contrasted with the grant-in-aid schools, and taught up to the Vernacular Schoo

larship Course. To revert to our former parallel, if the formation of a Marlborough out of an English village school would be a gain to primary education in England, so were the circle schools a gain to it in Bengal, but not otherwise.

On the other hand, we must confess that in this opinion we have not merely the authority of Mr. Woodrow against us, than which we allow there is no greater in the country, but also the equally great authority of Mr. Long. Mr. Long in the letter to Sir John Lawrence, already quoted, says of the circle system, "I myself have for years worked schools on this plan; they are now attended by 900 boys and I believe this scheme is the most practical one at the present time for reaching the masses; it supplements without superseding indigenous effort."

While thus dissenting with the greatest diffidence from Mr. Woodrow and Mr. Long, we think it probable that it is a difference in principle rather than in facts, and that what both these gentlemen mean, is what is admitted in the outset, that very good *middle class* schools have been formed at a moderate expense out of the indigenous *patshalas* of the country, but that we are justified in saying that they did not remain primary schools after their improvement, will be apparent from the reports of the department.

Writing of this system the Director in 1863-4 reports:—

"The 'Circle' system—former reports have described at length the system of circle schools originally brought into operation by Mr. Woodrow. The primary object of the scheme was, the improvement of the indigenous village schools, by giving rewards to the *Gurus* and their pupils, and providing 'each circle,' which generally consisted of three schools, with a 'circle teacher' whose duty was to give instruction in each school for two days a week in rotation. The plan, with such modification as circumstances have suggested, is working with considerable success in the Central and South-East divisions; but, as observed above, the schools are not mainly attended by the lower orders which are supposed to constitute the masses, and many of them have come to be good vernacular schools of the middle class, competing successfully in the Vernacular Scholarship Examination."*

While at p. 53, apparently the passage herein referred to, Mr. Atkinson writes:—

"It must not, however, be supposed that the schools which are referred to as the 'lower class' are mainly or even largely filled with the children of those classes which are assumed to constitute the masses. This is very far from being the case, for

* Report for 1863-4, p. 77.

these classes are in reality scarcely touched as yet by our educational operations. Various plans have been devised and tried for bringing school instruction to bear upon them, but the result has almost uniformly been that *the schools which have been organised, or improved for their benefit, have been at once taken possession of, and monopolised by, classes who stand higher in the social scale*; so that, speaking generally, it may be asserted within moderate limits of error, that our *entire* school system is still employed in operating on the upper and middle classes of native society, and only exercises an indirect influence on the masses of the population."

In the face of these remarks it seems difficult to maintain that the circle schools, however good they were, benefitted the masses; be this however as it may, owing to the scheme of Babu Bhudev Mukerji, which we have yet to describe, the system never attained any large proportions. In 1863-4, Mr. Woodrow's report shows 95 circle* schools with 4,046 pupils in the entire Central division; the cost to Government being Rs. 5,725 or less than Re. 1-8 per pupil annually; while at the same time in the South-Eastern division, the other division in which the system was at work, there were 150 *patshalas* containing 6,139 pupils, costing nearly 2-8 per pupil. It may be added, however, that in this division, the circle schools openly disclaimed all pretention to be improved indigenous schools, and acknowledged themselves to be middle class schools, *pure et simple*.

Leaving therefore the circle system as most excellent for manufacturing cheap and good middle class schools, but as not adapted to extend real elementary education, we now pass on to the more ambitious scheme, which has made celebrated the name of Babu Bhudev Mukerji.

This scheme owed its inception to the well-known letter of Sir J. P. Grant in 1860, whose plan for the improvement of elementary education should be described in his own words:—

"One of the matters particularly urged on the attention of the Government of India in Lord Stanley's Despatch of April 1859, was the extension of vernacular education among the masses of the population, and Local Governments were desired to take it into careful consideration and report fully on the means respectively at their disposal for promoting the object in view, having regard to the peculiar circumstances of each Province or Presidency.

"It was in the first place observed that the agricultural peasantry of Bengal was the class to be acted upon; and *secondly*, that the instruction to be imparted to it should range no higher, at least

* In this report 40 of these 95 told above as to those classed as 'lower,' schools are shown as middle class, speaks volumes, which combined with what we are

for some time to come, than that which was afforded by the indigenous private schools already in existence in large numbers over the whole country. The object, therefore, should be to bring them under such influences as would improve and elevate their character and efficiency, and ultimately confirm and extend their usefulness.

“ When the requisite number of schools shall have been selected, the Inspector must endeavour to make the *Gurus*, or the proprietors and supporters of the schools, who are often *talookdars* and middlemen, to submit to periodical inspection.

“ Books should be supplied to the schools at a very low price. These books should contain, in a compact form, all that has hitherto been taught at such places by dictation, namely, arithmetic, agricultural and commercial accounts, forms of agreements, quittances of rents, bonds, and even models of the complimentary or formal letters which inferiors constantly address to their superiors. The Lieutenant-Governor does not feel warranted in despising this last kind of instruction, because it is not conveyed to the son of an English peasant. It is sufficient for our purposes that such instruction has been imparted in India for generations. The above course will enable any lad of ordinary intelligence to read and write correctly, and to see that he is not cheated in his accounts by the *mahajun* or the agent of the zemindar.

“ He would be offered a reward in hard cash, within a limited amount at the discretion of the Inspector, and on the latter being satisfied that the state of the school justified the encouragement, which should not exceed half the schooling fees realised by the *Guru* from his pupils ; and assuming the fees at Rupees five per mensem, the *Guru* would be paid, on an average, Rupees 30 per annum by Government.

“ If the time should ever arrive when we could show one thousand village schools to a district, aided by Government, and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education, commensurate with their wants, the State, in such a case, might be held to have fairly done its duty by a neglected portion of its subjects.” *

Mr. Woodrow proposed to carry out this project by introducing a system of payment by results, which, had it been sanctioned, would probably have given an immense impetus to *bonâ fide* elementary instruction in Central and Western Bengal and in the whole of Orissa where indigenous *patshalas* were numerous. In Eastern Bengal, and where the Mahomedan population predominates, indigenous schools are comparatively few and construction is now, and would probably always have been, the best method. Unfor-

* Letter of 10th of October 1860.

tunately this proposal was not adopted, while it was in these very districts where it would have been most successful that the rival plan of Babu Bhudev Mukerji was introduced.

This system has been generally commended, and is undoubtedly in many respects well and economically planned, but it is even more open to one radical objection than the circle system, *viz.*, that it assumed an attitude first of disguised and then of overt hostility to the existing *Gurus*, and in its ultimate development it should correctly be described as 'a measure for subverting the indigenous education of the country, and for replacing it by cheap Government schools, teaching by a new method.'

From the outset the Education Department always manifested a reluctance to assist the indigenous schools without revolutionising them.

• It was so on the present occasion. The Government, both at Home and in India, had on several occasions declared itself in favour of this policy, and Sir J. P. Grant distinctly endorsed it in the present instance, but the moment it passed out of his hands its lines were fundamentally changed, till at last they were no longer recognisable. The Lieutenant-Governor's plan, like Mr. Adam's, contemplated making a commencement by inducing the existing *Gurus* to submit to inspection, by offering them rewards and trusting to self-interest for their amendment, Normal schools for the education of the *Gurus*, &c., were not even mentioned. They ought no doubt to have come in time if funds were available, as when the confidence of the *Gurus* was well gained many of the younger and more enterprising would have offered themselves for instruction, as they are now doing in Midnapore; but Sir J. P. Grant was not guilty of the error of trying to *begin* to win the confidence of the *Gurus* by ordering them back to school again as the first mark of Government patronage. And he expressly prohibited any attempts to raise the standard of instruction too rapidly. Let us now take Babu Bhudev's account of the scheme which he introduced in fulfilment of these instructions. Writing his first report after he had only been $3\frac{1}{2}$ months in charge, he says:—

"The present scheme was devised by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It is clearly described in the Government letter, dated 10th October, 1860. The object as stated in that letter was to devise some scheme for the instruction of the lower agricultural classes which may be tried at once experimentally, but shall be capable of easy extension and be not ill-adapted to any existing system, suitable to the wants of the people, not calculated to offend their prejudices, and above all, which shall not be attended with inordinate expense, not only at first but when developed to its full extent. The plan laid down was ~~one~~

for the improvement of indigenous schools by the offer of *money rewards to their Gurus*.

"Although the original scheme has subsequently undergone most important modifications, the main features still remain the same as before. The ground-work of the scheme continues to be the indigenous schools scattered over the face of the country which have existed from time immemorial on the unaided and voluntary support of the people themselves. The scheme still recognizes the utility and importance of these 'national institutions,' and likewise admits the possibility of improving them and the race of school-masters, but by a process materially different from that at first recommended. No provision had been made under the original scheme for the education of the *Gurus*; and the mere offer of money-rewards from time to time, was incapable of acting upon these men as an adequate inducement to adopt an improved course of study at their schools. This, it was conceded, was the weak point of the scheme, and here great improvements have been gradually introduced. A plan was at first devised according to which a certain number of *Gurus* were to be transferred as stipendiary pupils to a vernacular Normal school, trained pupils from which were deputed to hold their places in the *patshalas* until the *Gurus* could be prepared for re-assuming charge of their proper duties.

This plan was tried for about a year in a certain number of *patshalas* in the district of Burdwan. The officers who had then to report upon its results found that the force of circumstances had developed two new and striking features of the system under experiment. It was found by them (first), that the *Gurus* had for the most part, withheld themselves from the Normal schools where it had been supposed they were gone for training; and (secondly), that the villagers had invariably nominated their *future Gurus* to represent these men at the Normal schools. These facts, it was suggested, ought to be taken as guides in the further prosecution of the experiment. It was likewise recommended that the system of rewards to the *Gurus* at first proposed, which was complicated and liable to abuse, should give way to that of payment by fixed stipends."*

These fixed stipends it should be stated were *in all cases* Rs. 60 per annum, instead of the Rs. 30 prescribed as the *maximum* by Sir J. P. Grant, and it is difficult for any one who knows the utter ruin which this scheme caused to the existing *patshalas*, and the despair to which it drove the indigenous *Gurus*, to read with patience of its being called essentially the same scheme as that devised by the Lieutenant-Governor or rather adopted by him from

Mr. Adam. Far more true would it be to say that there are two fundamentally opposite methods of dealing with the indigenous *patshalas*, that Sir J. P. Grant directed the adoption of one of these, and that the Educational Department promptly substituted for it the rival method. What was in effect the attitude of this new aggression, as the *Gurus* must have seen it. 'We have been sent, they seemed to say, 'by the Government to offer you rewards in order to induce and enable you to improve your *patshalas* ; but this plan, no doubt a very acceptable one to you, seems to us too complicated and liable to abuse. We have therefore started certain Normal schools to which we offer you admission, and if you like to come and be trained there, to unlearn all you have learned, and undergo a wrench to all your cherished habits, and if, further, you can pass an examination in the new style, you may then enjoy the sunshine of our patronage.' This being their introduction to the new Government boon, it is almost superfluous to tell us that 'the *Gurus* had for the most part withheld themselves from the Normal schools!' What follows, however, is far worse—the villagers could not in many cases resist the too tempting bait of a permanent endowment of Rs. 60 a year for a *patshala* in their village, so they warned the existing *Guru* of his approaching supersession and sent some pliant and intelligent young man as their future *Guru* to be prepared for supplanting him ; and then we are told that these facts ought to be taken as guides in the further prosecution of the experiment, which apparently means that any further endeavours to conciliate and seek the alliance of the existing *Gurus* should be abandoned as waste of time, and the necessity of superseding them openly acknowledged. Yet on the face of this it is said that the new plan "has lost none of the advantages which belonged to the original scheme, while it has gained in simplicity, security and capability for wide and steady extension." May it not be truly said that the Bengal Government offered the indigenous *Gurus* food, and that the Education Department converted it into poison ?

It requires no great insight to forecast the future of these institutions, for the maintenance of which formal agreements were entered into with the chief men of the villages.

The people themselves seeing the direct and immediate action of Government in training the new *Guru*, in endowing the school, and in introducing its own method of instruction, would at once assume that it was to be an integral part of that general educational scheme, valued by them as the nursery of Government appointments and scarcely valued for any other ground. Hence, as in the circle schools, the ambitious portion of the parents and scholars would increase materially in numbers and energy, while those who knew that they belonged to the masses and did not cherish any visions of *keranidom*, would view with aversion the

new-fangled methods and leave the improved *patshalas* as no longer suitable for them.

Thus, not only would the old *Gurus* of these *patshalas* lose their employment, but also the best and most paying pupils of the neighbouring *patshalas* be attracted from them to the new school, and their *Gurus* also condemned to decline or extinction. In vain had Mr. Adam written of a precisely similar project "the first objection is, that it has the direct effect of producing hostility among the class of native teachers . . . every such . . . school, when established, displaces one or more native schools of the same class and throws out of employment one or more native teachers. If it has not this immediate effect, their fears at least are excited, and ill-will is equally produced. It is too much to expect that those from whom we take, or threaten to take, their means of livelihood, should co-operate with us or look with a favorable eye on the improvements we wish to introduce."

It may have been thought, from the passage quoted above, that by the 'future' *Gurus* were intended the natural successors and relations of the old *Gurus*, their allies in whose favour they were not unwilling to retire; and we think the use of the expression is fairly open to stricture as naturally conveying this impression. In any event it is a totally erroneous one. The future *Gurus* were the rivals and supplanters of the new *Gurus*, not their natural successors. Thus, in the very first inception of the scheme one of the Deputy Inspectors reports:—"The *patshala* from (? for) which a nominee is taken for education at the training school is often neglected if not entirely abandoned by the *Guru*, who loses all interest in a work which he knows he will have to make over to another's hands after a year"* while in the beginning of the next year all reserve is thrown aside and the promoters of the new scheme openly assume the rule of opponents and antagonists to the indigenous *Gurus*.

In the very opening page of the Report for 1863-4, we are told that the new *Gurus* are, as respects "their age, social status and previous acquirements, a more promising set of persons than the *Gurumahashoys* whom they were intended to displace. It must then have appeared that the difficulties which had been apprehended in the beginning, first in enlisting the *sympathies of the villagers on our side* from that of the *Gurumahashoys*, and secondly, in obtaining properly qualified persons to volunteer for service in the *patshalas*, had been fully and fairly overcome before the commencement of the official year now under review."† Thus, while the circle system began by superseding the *Guru* and converting him into a subordinate, the improved *patshala*

* Report for 1862-3 p. 229.

† Report for p. 1863-4, p. 339.

system was directed at once to turning him out neck and crop, and to using the funds allotted by Government for his encouragement and improvement, in bribing away from him the sympathies of his patrons, and *making it their interest to desert him !*

The old *Gurus* occasionally made a feeble attempt at resistance : thus, we read that at Mustaphapore the new *Guru* 'forcibly ousted the old *Gurumahashoy* and rendered himself immensely unpopular with a very influential man in the village ;' but opposition to the new *Guru*, 'when it exists, in which case it is generally prompted by the old *Guru*, is very slight indeed ;' in most cases, overweighted by the long purse and overpowering influence of Government, the old *Gurus* bowed their heads to the storm and bore their ruin with that resignation which is one of the noblest traits in the Bengallee character.

• It cannot need any more evidence to show how entirely Sir J. P. Grant's scheme was diverted from its original object and turned into a weapon of destruction against those very men whom it was designed to assist and encourage ; it remains, however, to show that the new schools failed after all to supply the want, which those they superseded met, however imperfectly.

In saying that they did so fail, it is most remote from our intention to imply that they were *per se* a failure, still more that there was any lack of ability or judgment in their direction. While Babu Bhudev Mukerji organized his scheme on lines which cruelly deviated from the avowed purpose of Government, he carried out this scheme with rare tact and talent, and assuming that the indigenous *Gurus* were to be crushed and not assisted, no other man could have been found to crush them more effectually and give the scheme for their supersession a better chance of success.

It failed for the following reasons, (1), because, being entirely of Government manufacture, the people insisted on regarding it as worth nothing unless it led directly to English education and employment, and hence the lower classes deserted the schools and held aloof from them ; (2.), the class of schools being too good, the new *Gurus* while willing to *commence* service on the income provided for them, were soon found to be unwilling to continue to serve contentedly on those terms, and, hence fresh prospects and stimulants had to be provided, and the scheme grew more and more expensive by the indirect addition of those very rewards to *replace* which the stipends had been granted ; (3), the Government officers doing everything for the new *Gurus*, presiding at their selection, training them and endowing their *patshalas*, the people no longer looked upon them as their own creatures for whom they must provide, but as outsiders depending on outside support ; (4), economical though it was, the new scheme replaced popular

effort too much, and led the people to lean too much on Government, and hence it proved too expensive for the finances of a poor country like India. Mr. Atkinson calculated in 1867, that its complete extension over the Lower Provinces would cost not much more than twenty lacs, and it is easy to show that this was an underestimate, and that 50 lacs would be nearer the mark.

For proof of our assertions we again need no other authority than the reports of Babu Bhudev Mukerji himself.

The Report for 1864-5 contains an interesting account of a discussion between the Inspector and his Deputy Inspectors, which appears to have mainly turned on this tendency to go too high and leave elementary education and the lower classes behind. Babu Bhudev Mukerji remarks that—‘ He thought that Government connection had a tendency to raise the standard of studies in elementary schools. This is certainly no evil in itself, but it is an evil, inasmuch as *it leads to the dropping off of the children of the lower orders from the schools which come under Government supervision. He had seen this here, and read in the report of the Committee of Council in England that it happens there too. The foundation of scholarships for the patshalas might create a stronger tendency in this direction; for although he could not admit that the patshalas were exclusively mass schools, yet there was no doubt that a large number of children belonging to the lower orders of the community received their education in them. We must make every effort to retain these children. Our scheme would not effect unmixed good, if under its working we deprived the children of the lower orders of those benefits of education (small though they be) which they are receiving from the indigenous schools as they now exist.*

“At the same time, he admitted the force of the argument, that the present scheme required the co-operation of the middle classes, and that those classes could not be interested without the foundation of scholarships tenable at English * schools.”

The Inspector therefore approached the question warily; he knew how vital the institution of scholarships was for the continued contentment of the patrons of his schools, but he also saw how this tendency was in reality an abuse of the scheme, and indicated its deflection from its original scope; one of the Deputy Inspectors, however, was not so guarded and avowed that—‘ According as this question was viewed by Government in connection with the new elementary vernacular schools, would they rise or fall in the public estimation. *If these schools imparted a certain amount of vernacular knowledge only*

* Report for 1864-5 p. 419.

to their pupils, without opening to them a future prospect of English education, the majority of the people were sure to cease taking any active interest in them. In fact, he continued, considering the general predilection of the people for English education, he had no hesitation in saying that it was desirable* that these schools should be made, no matter how remotely or imperfectly, the means for promoting that education, by awarding the most distinguished of their pupils a scholarship of 4 rupees a month to enable them to prosecute their studies in a Government English* school."

Compare this with Sir J. P. Grant's prohibition against raising the standard of instruction, and we see how radically the scheme and its pretended execution diverged.

Now it may freely be admitted that scholarships to primary schools to enable their most gifted pupils to enter upon a higher career, are *per se* unobjectionable and even desirable; but this is widely different from the definite and tangible prospect of scholarships, which the pupils of the improved *patshalas* wanted—they went to the schools to obtain a future prospect of English education, they wanted a reasonable prospect which many might hope for and not a few would attain; whereas scholarships for primary *patshalas* must necessarily be out of all proportion to the number of students of an age to compete for them. A little calculation would show that with elementary education well developed, it would be much if Government could bestow one primary scholarship for every thousand pupils annually leaving the *patshalas*. Indeed, it is rather to give the country the benefit of the best brains in it from all classes, than as a stimulus to the ambition of the masses that such scholarships are beneficial. It seems plain from the Deputy Inspector's remark that the improved *patshalas* had been speedily appropriated by the classes which wished for English education, and that the Inspecting officers clearly recognized that, in order to be a success, they must be worked and directed in the interests of *this class*.

It cannot but be supposed that the masses who were not ambitious enough to hope for an English education soon saw this, and as early as in the report for 1862-63 the Inspector noticed that "the children of the lower orders had dropped off from the schools that had been experimented upon." In the passage above quoted he again bears witness, with regret, to this fact; and though further on he speaks more hopefully as "he had found from experience that the poorer children have not dropped off from *his† patshalas* during the year and a half those schools have been

* Report for 1864-5 p. 447.

† Apparently he has been refer-

ring to certain special *patshalas* under his own immediate supervision.

working ;" yet the general tendency must have been marked enough, as we find a little further on the Deputy Inspector of Burdwan writing :—" A little knowledge of the Vernacular, which it is the object of these *patshalas* to afford, is not the only thing the people want of them. The Vernacular is nowhere in this country a favorite study with the people. Its importance is collateral. It is valued in proportion to the facilities it affords for English education, *which is currently known as being the royal road to lucrative employment*. Our *patshalas*, therefore, in order to be thoroughly popularized, *should be made to afford some such facilities*. How this is to be effected, I leave it to you and the head of our Department to determine. But that something must be done this way, and *that promptly too, before the interest excited by the novelty and uncertain nature of these patshalas begins to flag, is what I cannot too strongly urge*. It is quite superfluous for me to add here, what is but too well known to you, that *as most of the boys in these patshalas belong to the higher and middle classes, and a very few only to the lower*, no apprehension need be entertained as to their not being able to avail themselves of any concession made to them by Government for their subsequent education in an English school."*

The candour of this Deputy Inspector cannot be too highly praised ; it must, we think, remove all doubt as to how these *patshalas* were working, and therefore out of the many more passages in the same strain which we have marked for quotation, we must be contented with one more extract from the report of 1865-66. " During the year embraced in this report no Government employment has been conferred on any *patshala* pupil of my circle. (Deputy Inspector of Burdwan.) The growing popularity of the *patshalas* have in fact received a sudden check. A feeling of *disappointment has begun to rise up about them in the popular mind. Other results were expected in the beginning. Some material advantages which did not belong to the patshalas, before they were taken up for improvement.*" †

The second point follows easily from the first. The *Gurus* feeling themselves to be in such request, and finding also, that the villagers seeing them in receipt of a Government stipend were less willing than heretofore to pay them their tuition fees, soon grew dissatisfied with their modest incomes of Rs. 8 to 12, which amount, moreover, was equally paid to those who just got through their work as to those who laboured most assiduously. Hence those who had charge of their welfare soon saw that the admirable zeal with which they threw themselves into their work would soon fall off, and the teachers become disenchanted

* Report for 1862-63 p. 460. ,

† Report for 1865-66 p. 375.

unless expectations were held out to them also. Hence while scholarships were necessary to keep up the interest of the pupils and parents, and lead them to believe that the improved *patshalas* were the royal road to English education and keranidom, the hope of additional emoluments was also necessary for the teachers. It was an awkward position ; for already *every Guru* drew double the sum which Sir J. P Grant had fixed as the maximum for the most successful of their number. The former Deputy Inspector again puts the case so well that a single quotation from him will suffice.

"Something" says he, "however, may be done yet to remove some of these causes, though but partially, namely by holding out hopes of additional reward to such of the tutors as best succeed in training their pupils after the right method, that is, in the way best calculated to call forth the good qualities of the infant mind. There is another reason also why such hopes should be held out to them even if we expect nothing more from them in future than what they are doing at present. It is, I believe, a pretty generally acknowledged fact, that no man will long continue to do the duties of his appointment with unabated zeal or vigour, if fresh inducements, be not at intervals thrown in his way, besides his pay. Is not the time come yet to give this matter a close consideration with regard to our tutors, whose monthly stipend is so very small?"*

Their pay, however, was not raised directly but indirectly ; it was raised by allowing them to teach girls drawing extra pay, and to open night schools for all the pupils, for which additional money grants were given. Their schools also were allowed to teach up to the Vernacular scholarship course, and some of them have even succeeded occasionally in the competition.

Our quotations take up so much space that as regards our 3rd point, *viz.*, that the villagers no longer looked upon the *patshalas* as their own creation and entitled to rely on them for support, a single extract must suffice, but it is apposite enough.

The Deputy Inspector of the Khoolna circle thus writes :—

"I have thought deeply on the condition of our village tutors. They enter the school simply with a knowledge of reading and writing, but they leave it vastly changed, and then consider the stipend of Rs. 5 to be an inadequate remuneration for them. They could be consoled if they were reasonably assisted by the villagers, but this very seldom happens. In villages where the old *Gurus* had drawn a handsome sum, the trained ones, though confessedly superior to them in every respect, can't draw even half the amount. Why? The reason is simply this. The villagers

* Same report p. 461.

considered the old *Gurus* as their own creatures, whom they must maintain ; but the new tutors are partly paid by the Government, and supervised by Government officers, and are naturally looked on with indifference. This is human nature, and the Deputy Inspector, who has studied human character, should try to root out this most injurious feeling." *

No doubt this is human nature, but this tendency of human nature ought to have been allowed for in introducing the scheme, and the advice of Sir J. Thomason not disregarded.

By 1866 the initial zeal and the early delusions had nearly passed away. The Inspector writes—the system “is not developing itself as healthfully owing to the attempt that is being made to reduce the *patshalas* to the condition of pure mass schools. The teachers appear to me to be losing heart and do not seem to love their work on account of its unremunerative character, and the villagers withhold every encouragement from teachers, considering them to be servants of, and provided for, by Government. The teachers, on the one hand, look to the respectable villagers for patronising their schools, those villagers, on the other hand, keep themselves aloof as much as possible, feeling little interest in schools which do not open a way to superior education. Where such is the state of affairs, it is no wonder that the schools should wither and droop.” †

No wonder indeed! when Sir J. P. Grant's scheme had been so utterly perverted and turned inside out. It remains to establish our fourth point that the scheme though inexpensive *per se* would have been far too expensive for an Asiatic revenue, and far more expensive than the ‘not much more than 20 lacs’ at which Mr. Atkinson reckoned it. Mr. Atkinson reckoned that one improved *patshala* might be set up for every 3,000 of the population at a cost of 20 lacs over a population of 40,000,000. The population of Bengal being now known to be nearer 64,000,000, his estimate must be at once raised to 32 lacs ; but remembering how small the rural villages are, one *patshala* for every 3,000 persons would not nearly suffice to educate all the agricultural population.

The Bengal census showed boys under 12 years of age to be, in all the Lower Provinces inclusive of Assam, slightly in excess of 12,000,000. Considering that many children would remain at school after the age of 12 it is a moderate estimate to take the number of boys of a school-going age at 4,000,000, and we ought not to be satisfied till 3,000,000 of these, or 75 per cent. are being taught to read and write. Now in the reports for 1871-2, the last year before the new scheme of Sir G. Campbell came into effect,

* Report for 1864-5, p. 469.

† Report for 1866-67, p. 411.

we find that the improved *patshala* scheme was sustaining 1,801 *patshalas*, (counting each attached night school as a *patshala*) containing 45,702 pupils, costing Government Rs. 92,115, or a little over 2 rupees per pupil. Besides this the Normal schools, maintained for these *patshalas*, 18 in number, cost a trifle under Rs. 66,000. With the increase in the number of *patshalas*, a parallel increase in the numbers and expense of Normal schools would not be necessary. We reckon that 1½ lacs with economy might have met the needs of the entire country as regards Normal schools.

But as regards pupils it is far from certain that the more numerous the schools the less they would cost to Government, per head. On the contrary, it is in the larger villages that schools are first established, i. e., in those which are likely to pay best; the more numerous the *patshalas* become the smaller are the villages which they reach, and consequently the smaller the numbers of pupils which each stipend of Rs. 60 per annum would teach. On the other hand, such an extension of education as would suppose 75 per cent. of the school-going population being at school, assumes, no doubt, that many now within reach of *patshalas*, but who do not attend them, will do so. Still we are convinced that to reduce the expenditure from Rs. 2 to 1-8 per head is a very favorable estimate, and at that rate 3, 000,000 boys would cost 45 lacs, which, with the Normal schools and inspection would easily sum up to 50 lacs.

We have thus seen that the improved *patshala* scheme at a cost of a lac had opened nearly 2,000 *patshalas*, and was teaching nearly 50, 000 pupils, when Sir George Campbell made a fresh move in the direction of primary education, by allotting 4 lacs for the purpose (in addition to 1, 30, 000 already spent on that object) and by marking a fresh line of operations as was done in the resolution of September 30th, 1872.

This resolution is a very long one, and instead of quoting it at length it will be better to take the briefer and authoritative description of it which we find in the general summary to the Bengal Administration Report for 1872-3.

"The wish of the present Lieutenant-Governor was to aid, promote and improve this indigenous system, and to educate the people through it instead of attempting to supersede it. And it has been found that this can be done at so cheap a rate, that funds which would go but a very little way under any other system, will suffice for the wide-spread of a useful and practical instruction. The Indian branch of the Aryan family are a literature loving people. The Hindoos of old times were undoubtedly an educated race, and education has not altogether lost its hold among them. The village school-master seems to have been

a universal institution in former days. That education formerly prevailed more than at present, may be gathered from the fact that there is now more education in the secluded, primitive, and more purely Hindoo parts of the country, than in those over which the waves of conquest and so-called modern civilisation have rolled. In isolated Orissa, and in secluded parts of the Himalayas, village schools are very common, and most of the people can read and write. But in the more open and populous plains of Hindoostan (of which Behar is a part) and Bengal, which have been the seat of great empires, education has much retrograded; the old Hindoo school-masters have been discouraged, and the people have been reduced to ignorance and subjection.

* * * * *

The race of village school-masters or *Gurus* is still not extinct, but hitherto they have had little encouragement. The Bengal Educational Department, founded on a foreign system, has not even condescended to recognise for statistical purposes the village *Gurus* and their schools. The educational officers had not thought them worthy to be called schools; and in returns professing to give not only Government schools, but also the unaided institutions of the country, the old-fashioned village schools were ignored as non-existent, and the country was made to appear even more destitute of education than it really was.

Several previous Governments have attempted to extend popular instruction, especially those of Lord Hardinge and Sir J. P. Grant, but these attempts have proved abortive; partly for want of funds, but more from the failure of the Educational Department to recognize as instruction anything that was not on their model. The consequence is that, till the last two years, the number of primary schools shown in the returns was ridiculously small; and of the few so shown as Government primary schools, most were not truly primary, but were in fact Government schools of a higher character.

The present Lieutenant-Governor by no means depreciates modern knowledge and improved methods, but he does think that it is right that the people should be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, at the same time that superior instruction is given to the upper classes. He would attribute an even superior importance to the former object, seeing how much it has been neglected.* * * The indigenous school-masters can, at any rate, teach the children to read and write in good substantial vernacular characters, and they teach them an arithmetic somewhat different from ours, but of which the inferiority is by no means clear. It appeared then to Sir George Campbell that if we could widely extend this much of education, we should do very well for a beginning, even if the school-masters we take under our protection

are themselves as yet wholly ignorant of our English system and our new educational methods. The Lieutenant-Governor thought, moreover, that if these men were to some extent subsidised, they might not only be encouraged and their number increased, but they might be tested, directed, and gradually taught the simpler portions of our methods." *

The resolution was accompanied by an appendix showing the existing schools in Bengal, district by district, the number connected with Government, and the number of new *patshalas* which it was hoped would be founded under the new scheme.

Whatever may have been his vagaries in some points of detail, rarely, if ever, any ruler who came to Bengal, displayed so keen an insight into the fundamental question which lay at the root of each controversy as did Sir G. Campbell. The preceding pages show clearly that his views in the matter of primary education were no exception to this rule. He was keenly alive to all the weak points of the previous efforts to stimulate elementary education, which it has been our aim to establish at length in the foregoing pages—but, even where they seem, and apparently can believe themselves, to be carrying out his policy, the Educational Department are still far from accepting his views even for their guidance, let alone their internal assent. Speaking of existing indigenous education, Sir G. Campbell says, "if we could widely extend this much of education we should do very well for a beginning." But in 1874-5 the officiating Director of Public Instruction writes, as if unaware that the other view had ever been held, "the justification the *patshala* scheme is the improvement much more than the extension of primary education." It may seem a small divergence, but it indicates that they approached the question from totally opposite points of view.

Still there was one weak point or inconsistency in Sir G. Campbell's proposals as applied to the greater part of the country, that while commending the improvement and encouragement of the indigenous *Gurus* he chiefly directed his attention towards the opening of new primary schools—at stipends lower than those allowed to the improved *patshala Gurus*. Thus the appendix showed that while the existing indigenous *patshalas* were about 16,000 in number, while the lower vernacular schools under the previous scheme were 2,383, and while 827 new *patshalas* had already been opened, the new grant was expected to lead to the opening of 6,455 additional primary schools over and above the 827 which would also have to be supported from the new funds.

It seems strange that Sir G. Campbell should not have perceived that to carry out this in the districts in which indigenous

* Administration Report for 1872-3, Introduction, p. 42.

patshalas were numerous already, would only be to combat and attack them instead of to benefit and encourage them. Apparently it was only intended that about half the new grant should be expended in opening new schools, but even this half would probably be spent in competition with the other half—as the Deputy Inspectors wishing to establish successful *patshalas* would locate them precisely where indigenous education was, and not where it was not already existing.

Accordingly in the report from Midnapore * this question was pressed upon the consideration of Government. It was argued that there were already over 1,700 indigenous schools in the district: that to add 250 more to these (the number fixed by Government) would “only increase the existing number by 15 per cent. moreover, it would probably cause many of the indigenous schools to close in the hope of re-opening, as Government *patshalas*: at any rate, it would create a sense of injustice in the minds of the present *Gurus*, and of the villagers among whom they labour, if it were made to appear that by having done something for themselves, they have thereby lost the chance of being helped by Government.”

Accordingly it was proposed to utilize the funds by rewarding the *Gurus* for making periodical returns and submitting to inspection; also to pay them by results ascertained at examinations, and, by these examinations, to gradually dispose them to look favourably on more approved methods of instruction and thereby to improve themselves.

In passing orders on this proposal the Secretary to Government wrote that the “proposed system is undoubtedly in the circumstances of the district of Midnapore the best if only it can be carried out. . . . The Lieutenant-Governor quite thinks that, speaking generally, such a system as Mr. Harrison proposes for encouraging and extending existing schools on a payment by results system, will be the best in the districts of Western Bengal and Orissa, where indigenous schools are already numerous. In many other districts where indigenous schools are very few, the bulk of our money and the strength of our energies should be mainly devoted to establishing new schools.”†

This view appears to be perfectly sound, and at the same time supplements and corrects the defects of the scheme as previously disclosed—and it is under this sanction that the Midnapore scheme, which has now been working for over three years, was introduced and has been developed. Indeed, its claims are to be the proper,

* *Vide*, Selections from important orders, pp. 38 and 39.

† No. 74, 6th. January 1873.

most consistent and practicable means of giving effect to Sir G. Campbell's views above described.

Before, however, proceeding to describe the details of the scheme, it is proper at the very outset to disclaim on its behalf any pretence to originality; it claims merely to be eclectic, and in so well-worn a subject as that of primary education, to which so many able and experienced men have contributed their quota—a claim to be original ought, rightly viewed, to be fatal to any system, while a claim to be eclectic is the most ambitious claim that could be put forward. The general outlines of the system had been sketched out by Mr. Adam and Sir J. P. Grant. Mr. Woodrow had recommended its provisions almost precisely as subsequently worked. More recently the system had been actually in working in Burmah and the Central Provinces, as the best means of advancing elementary education; all that was proposed was an adaptation of this system *mutatis mutandis* to the Midnapore district with its 2½ millions of population.

The census and subsequent special enquiries had succeeded in tracing out 1,729 indigenous *patshalas* attended by 19,174 pupils; many of these, however, only consisted of a tutor and 2, 3 or 4 pupils and hardly deserved the name. Excluding such as these it is probable that the estimate of Babu Bhudev Mukerji, made in 1866, that the district contained 1,120 * *patshalas* was not far from correct.

The principles on which it was designed to deal with these *patshalas* can be inferred from what has gone before.

(1.) It was to be a *sine qua non* that the *Gurus* were to be assisted and encouraged and not superseded; that they were to be left to manage their *patshalas* as heretofore, and that any changes hoped for, were to be effected by fluxion and not *per saltum*, the *Gurus* being themselves the agents of their own improvement under such influences as no man is proof against

(2.) It was designed to improve them by bringing them under inspection, and by paying them by results, the latter being especially relied on to work upon them (the *Gurus*), gradually, since the money could easily be so allotted as to afford the maximum encouragement to those who most exerted themselves.

(3.) It was designed to extend their operations by making patent the interest which Government took in their work, and more especially by interesting the people themselves in that work.

* Report for 1866-7 p. 393. Mr. Sutcliffe, para. 51 of his report as Officiating Director, for 1874-5, says, that the Babu 'estimated the number of indigenous schools in Midnapore

to be 1,900, in 1866.' We do not know where this fact is obtained, certainly in his *published* estimate for that very year he makes it 1,120; as in the text.

The most important means of achieving this end seemed to be the collection of the *Gurus* and their pupils at centres, the examination of the latter in the elementary subjects taught and the payment of the *Gurus* according to the success of their pupils. All *Gurus* whose *patshalas* were examined were to enter into an agreement to allow the educational officers to inspect their *patshalas* at pleasure, but no other reforms were insisted upon at the outset.

Sanction was conveyed on the 6th January 1873, and in order to set to work without delay ten centres were at once fixed, and all *Gurus* invited by proclamation to attend at these centres with their pupils and be examined and rewarded.

The examinations came off in March 1873; and the *Gurus* of 576 *patshalas* containing 11,502 pupils, brought up the best of their pupils for examination and signed agreements.

An analysis of the results of this tentative examination showed plainly in what direction improvements were needed. It was seen at once that the circles were too large. Whereas nearly all the *Gurus* in the immediate neighbourhood of the centres had come in, very few had presented themselves from the more distant places. It was believed on enquiry, that 5 miles was about the maximum distance which a *guru* would be allowed to bring his pupils without objection in the cold weather; hence the district was divided into sub-circles on the principle that every *patshala* should be within 5 miles of the examination sub-centre. A circle with a radius of 5 miles would contain about 78 square miles, and the area of the district being 5,032 square miles, 65 such sub-circles would have sufficed, but it was obviously impossible to divide the district thus symmetrically, especially as it was regarded as a fundamental rule that each *thannah* should contain a set of complete sub-circles. Hence 113 sub-circles were formed, and, even then in one or two very exceptional cases, a *patshala* was as far as 7 miles off, but this was the outside.

To assist at the examinations and generally stimulate the exertions of the *Gurus*, sub-committees were appointed by the Magistrate for each sub-centre. They were composed of 4 to 10 of the most intelligent residents who were willing to assist, the members being generally masters or pundits of aided schools, or the more intelligent *Gurus* of improved *patshalas*. As regards the subjects of examination it was considered that reading and writing and elementary arithmetic should be chiefly looked to, but *zemindari* and *mahajani* accounts were added on account of their great practical utility, and mensuration out of deference to Sir G. Campbell's well-known partiality for this subject. By mensuration was intended not the measuring of single fields which is included in the ordinary

native arithmetic, but the plotting out and measuring areas containing many fields, and this, which was too advanced a subject, was soon tacitly abandoned.

A few of the *Gurus* can teach *zemindari* or *mahajani* accounts, and this subject is retained and rewards annually earned in it by a small proportion of the pupils; but the standby is of course reading, writing and arithmetic, and the main problem was how to manipulate these rewards on a beneficial and practical system. If the rewards were given for all who attained a fair knowledge, and were continued year by year for the same pupils, it would be the interest of the *Gurus*, having once got a few pupils up to the mark to keep them and earn rewards by their agency year by year, as a simpler and surer plan than trying to bring on others pupils. If only allowed to earn a reward once for each student, still the influence of the rewards would be to make the *Guru* concentrate his attention exclusively on pushing on two or three boys and neglecting the others. Therefore the plan adopted, which has worked very successfully, has been to allow each student to earn a reward twice by two different standards, both in reading with writing, and in arithmetic. The lower standard reward of 8 annas per pupil in each of the subjects, can be earned for all pupils who have made sensible progress in reading and writing or in arithmetic, can read well-written manuscripts and write a few words legibly if not neatly: and a parallel standard obtains in arithmetic. The higher standard reward of one rupee per pupil in each subject is given for such as can read and write or sum fluently and easily, and in fact are fit to leave the *patshalas* so far as these subjects are concerned. The boys must be *bond fide* taught by the *Gurus*; hence students just enrolled prior to the examination, or who have been educated in any schools of a superior class are barred.

The effect of this is that the *Guru's* interest in his pupil is kept up from the beginning to the end of his career—at the outset in trying to bring him up to the lower standard and afterwards in qualifying him for the higher standard. It need scarcely be added that much advantage was expected from the public character of the examinations, conducted in the immediate neighbourhood of the *patshalas* in the presence of all the rival *Gurus* of the sub-circle and before a considerable number of bystanders. Payments thus awarded were obviously worth far more than equivalent amounts allotted in obscurity at each *patshala* when visited by the inspecting officers.

The second means of enhancing the value of the money was in paying the money down as awarded, without putting the *Guru* to the slightest trouble, or formality, beyond signing a receipt for it.

From the outset the scheme appears to have succeeded perfectly in this all-important point, *viz.*, in exciting rivalry and emulation among the *Gurus*. Had they made common cause with one another to get as much as possible out of the Government officers—still more, had the local committees shown any inclination to combine with them, it would have been difficult to prevent or detect fraud; but with every other *Guru* an amateur detective, it is very different; they cannot throw dust in one another's eyes, and there are good reasons for believing that attempts at fraud have been very rare, and of a very venial character, and that they have nearly always been detected.

The effect of bringing the examinations into proximity to every *patshala*, combined with the stir made by the tentative examinations of March 1873, was such that in the winter of 1873-74, 1,669 *patshalas* under agreement, presented themselves for examination, while the numbers attending them had risen to 28,357, 50 per cent. in excess of the number found in the entire district two years before. Out of these the *Gurus* produced 8,939 or nearly one-third as qualified to pass by one standard or the other, out of whom 1,084 were passed by the higher and 5,895 by the lower standard in reading and writing, and 1,170 by the higher and 4,317 by the lower in arithmetic,—77 also passed in *mahajani* and *zaminadari* accounts.

It may be asked why the divisions should be called sub-circles and the places of examination sub-centres, instead of circles and centres? The answer is, that it was not thought advisable to abolish the centres which ultimately became 16 in number. At the sub-centres success depended on reaching a specific standard, and it was desirable to stimulate emulation by introducing an element of competition also, and for this reason the centre gatherings, which enabled the best *Gurus* and pupils of one sub-centre to come into contact with the best of another, were well adapted. They also served for the distribution of the 20 primary scholarships allotted by Government to the Midnapore district. Were all these scholarships awarded at a single central examination, not only would the boys of the neighbouring *patshalas* have an immense advantage, but also the forward parts of the district would monopolise all the prizes and the backward parts win none. Hence 16 centres were selected at which the 20 scholarships granted by Government and the 5 which have been endowed by municipalities and private persons were awarded. The largest centres have two, but every centre has at least one scholarship allotted to it.

The sub-centre examinations are conducted in November, December, January, and February, and are followed by the centre examinations in all March. These are purely competitive—at each

sub-centre, the Sub-Inspector is entitled to choose one and the sub-committee a second for competition at the centres, and if they concur a third, fourth, and fifth pupil may be selected. These boys are given certificates authorising them to compete, and as each centre contains more or less seven sub-centres, about thirty candidates present themselves for the competition. The best of these (or the two best where there are two scholarships to be awarded) obtains the scholarship. As, however, an examination in which there are 29 failures to one case of success would be very discouraging, money prizes are also awarded, generally, two of 5 Rupees, three of 4 Rupees, and so on, all who do well earning at least a Rupee, while the *Guru* whose pupil wins the scholarship is rewarded with 12 Rupees, and the rest get rewards equal to what their pupils earn.

These centre examinations do not absorb more than one-tenth of the entire grant, and they are found very useful in stimulating the *Gurus* to improve themselves. On these occasions the best *Gurus* meet one another and find out what their most forward rivals elsewhere are doing. The interest which some of the more intelligent talookdars and other gentlemen take in these examinations is most gratifying and commendable. The being selected an examiner is thought an honour, and they appear to take much trouble and interest in maintaining fair play.

In the year 1874 two further additions were made. The inspecting officers reported that grossly inaccurate spelling was one of the worst faults of the *patshala* teaching, and as many of the *Gurus* did not themselves know how to spell, it would be practically deterring them from any reward, if correct spelling were made at once a *sine qua non* of passing. Hence it was resolved, while not making it indispensable for the ordinary tests, to give spelling prizes at the sub-centre examinations, in order to draw the attention of the *Gurus* specially to this subject. Though competitive, these prizes were to be given at the sub-centres as it was the *οι πολλοι* of the *Gurus* that it was sought to influence. Correct spelling was already allowed sufficient weight at the centre competitions, and such *Gurus* as succeeded there were not in need of the inducement; but it was desirable that all *Gurus* should be induced to correct their faults in this respect.

Secondly, it was found difficult to convey information to all the *Gurus* of orders passed affecting them, and still more difficult to teach them to fill up correctly those marvellously elaborate returns which the Director of Public Instruction insists on, as much from the most primitive *patshala*, as from the most advanced college.

To remedy this it was thought advisable to select one of the most intelligent *Gurus*, under a title equivalent to Assistant

Secretary to the Sub-Circle Committee whose duty it was to circulate information to all the other *Gurus* in the sub-circle, and still more to learn himself how to fill up the annual returns and collect all the other *Gurus* on the last day of the year, to fill up, in consultation with him, their returns.

To these posts an annual bonus of Rs. 12 is attached as salary quite enough to make them much coveted, and they are awarded to the *Guru* who does best at the examination.

The year which first followed these changes was a most discouraging one for primary education, the harvest of 1873-4 was a very bad one, especially in the northern and eastern portions of the district, while in October 1874, just before the examinations commenced, occurred the cyclone which destroyed no inconsiderable portion of the more advanced crops, inundated large tracts of country and levelled villages by hundreds to the ground. It says much for the natural expansiveness of the scheme that even in such a year it should still grow.

In this year, 1874-5, 1,865 *patshalas* presented themselves for examination against the 1,669 of the previous year, their number of pupils had increased from 28,357 to 34,459; the number examined had risen from 8,939 to 11,141. Of these 2,373 in the first division and 6,374 in the second division, in all 8,747 passed in reading and writing and 2,363 in the first and 3,863 in the second, in all 6,179 in arithmetic, while the number passing in *zemindari* and *mahajani* accounts had risen from 77 to 377.

Far more gratifying, however, than any mere increase of numbers was the fact which the examinations of this year brought to light, that the villagers were now accepting these examinations as the test by which they measured the respective merits of their *Gurus*. A successful *Guru*, far from being pressed to forego some of his fees, in consideration of what he obtained from Government, found himself, on the contrary, master of the situation. He was able to attract boys from other *patshalas* and, if anything, to raise his fees instead of lowering them. The effect of this was evidently to increase the rivalry of the *Gurus*, and augment the influence of the rewards in directing and improving their methods of instruction.

Besides the payments by results a small fixed sum of 4 Rupees was given all along to each *patshala* which was under agreement and succeeded in passing any pupil, ostensibly for making a return, but in fact as an encouragement to the backward schools. It is evident, as is remarked by Mr. Woodrow in the report for 1874-5, that the weak point in the payment by results system is that, "it gives much where little is required and little where much is required." That this is far more than counter-balanced

by the greater zeal and emulation which it excites is no doubt true; still, as it affords so little encouragement to a backward school, this small fixed payment was granted to level up somewhat the rewards to the lowest schools.

After the second year however, it was found that as regards the very lowest *patshalas* this boon was misplaced. A percentage of the lowest *patshalas* were too fluctuating and unstable to merit any encouragement; hence out of the 4 Rupees 3 Rupees were allotted to such *patshalas* only as had reached their second year of continuous existence and examination, and had also kept up a register of attendance throughout the year. The other rupee was given to all alike for the preparation of the return.

By this means the floating *patshalas* if they are worth next to nothing, as they undoubtedly are, also cost next to nothing. In their first year they can only pass a boy or two by the lower standard and carry off a rupee more or less; it is not until they remain stable for at least one year that they can earn any appreciable reward. It should be added that from the commencement no *patshala* was admitted either to agreement or examination which contained less than 10 pupils.

Though Mr. Hopkins, the Inspector of the S.-W., does not like the system of payment by results and prefers fixed monthly payments, the Government of Bengal has expressed its preference for this system if it can be duly supervised and fairly carried out—and Mr. Woodrow, whose experience after all must stand far before that of any other Government officer in Bengal, also seems to consider that this is the crucial question—viz., whether fraud can be prevented.

Addressing ourselves to this point, it may be confidently said that by the system of public examinations and payments in the presence of scores of witnesses, the danger of fraud on the part of the Sub-Inspectors is reduced to a minimum.

To prove this it is necessary to describe the nature of the payment voucher—the one all essential record of these examinations

The Sub-Inspectors are supplied with large printed forms—showing in successive columns the name of the *patshala*, of the *Guru*, of the pupils produced by him for examination, of each pupil's father, the subjects column by column in which each pupil was examined, the spelling prizes earned, the fixed donation for permanency and for keeping a register, the total earned, the receipt of the *Guru* for this amount, (stamped if above Rs. 20,) and in the column of remarks, which pupils have been selected for the centre examinations, and which *Guru* for the post of Assistant Secretary during the ensuing year. At the foot the members of the Sub-Committee sign a voucher to the effect that the *Gurus*, shown as above, have been paid over in full, in their presence. Three

copies of these vouchers are prepared, one for the Accountant-General to support the bill, another for custody at the district headquarters, and the third for the use of the Sub-Inspector within whose jurisdiction the sub-circle lies. The following year he brings these vouchers of previous years with him and thereby ascertains without trouble what rewards each pupil has already earned and what he can still earn.

It will thus be seen that, as regards payments, any fraud must be committed so publicly that practically there is no danger of it, nor has a whisper or even an anonymous petition alleging such fraud been yet received. Favoritism might be practised no doubt to a small extent, but this can be done under a system of monthly grants even easier than under payment by results. To say the least, when these results are tested publicly, when four or five other persons assist in the examination, when their rewards are watched eagerly and jealously by many rivals, the danger of partiality is reduced to a minimum. In future also, now that an additional staff of Sub-Inspectors has been sanctioned, it has been arranged that two inspecting officers will assist at each sub-centre and centre examination.

A more practical danger lies in the attempts which the *Gurus* may make to deceive the Sub-Inspectors, and a few instances of this have been detected every year; the method being almost in every case the production of pupils, as their own, that do not attend their *patshalas*. Against this the jealousy of rival *Gurus*, and the actual knowledge of the bystanders, is one most efficient safeguard. Rarely does it happen that the *Guru* has not some kind friend among one or the other of these who does not show him up.

The registers, however, which are now kept up, are almost a conclusive obstacle to fraud of this kind. Each *patshala* will be visited twice a year by one or other of the Inspecting Staff, who is required invariably to examine and sign the attendance register. It will be very difficult and dangerous for the *Gurus* to falsify these registers; and, in any case, the suspicions of the Sub-Inspector will be at once aroused if he finds boys coming forward and doing well who were absent on both the occasions of the intermediate visits.

A further incentive to exertion and improvement on the part of the *Gurus* is found in the Training Schools into which 40 *Gurus* are annually admitted. After the first year more candidates than there are vacancies have presented themselves, and hence the vacancies are distributed over all the centres, and are accorded by competition to the best candidates who come forward. The centre examinations are chosen as the time for making the selection.

To a *Guru* who passes the Training School in the first division, the reward for permanency is ever afterwards, as long as he does well, raised to Rs. 12 annually, and to those who pass in the second grade to Rs. 6.

A further objection which has been raised against this system is, that it is too complicated and that a simpler system is requisite for primary education.

This criticism, however, seems to overlook a most important distinction, *viz.*, the difference between complication as regards the *Gurus* and complication as regards the Inspecting Staff.

A complex system as regards the *Gurus* is no doubt much to be deprecated, but we do not think the system deserves that character so far as they are concerned. They have to keep attendance registers; the Assistant Secretary at a certain date in the cold weather, receives information that the annual examination at his sub-centre is fixed for such a date, he communicates this to the other *Gurus* that they may attend, with such of their pupils as they think can pass, and with the attendance register. The system of two standards is easily learnt. The examination takes place, and the boys are passed or rejected; then some 10 per cent. of the best are selected for the spelling prize, a passage is dictated, those who spell best get the prizes and they and their *Gurus* are rewarded. Another selection is made for the centre (scholarship) examination, and some four or five boys are given certificates authorising them to compete for the scholarships. The *Gurus* almost invariably accompany them; and again earn rewards proportioned to the success of their boys, whatever they earn is paid money down there and then, they have not a form to go through to receive it, except to sign for it. We need not say how much this enhances the value of the reward. There is nothing in all this in the least to puzzle them, infinitely more puzzling than anything else, is the preparation of the annual return prescribed by the Educational Department.

To make their comprehension of it still more easy, two of each of the Training School *Gurus* accompany the Sub-Inspector at each sub-centre examination. Each *Guru* undertraining in this way goes the round of *his own* and three or four of the neighbouring sub-centres; generally it entails a 15 days' absence from the Training School.

As all in turn are absent, though not at the same time, it is fair for all, and the slight inconvenience as regards studies, is far more than compensated by the amount of useful knowledge the *Gurus* pick up by accompanying the Sub-Inspector and assisting him. The effect of this deputation is excellent, it enables the *Gurus* under training to see how their own pupils do at the examination, how much their *locum tenens* obtains, and to visit

their friends. It is good for the other *Gurus* who readily come to their colleagues for explanation of anything they do not understand; and who, envying their position of importance and confidence, are far more ready to enter the Training School themselves.

They are also most useful to the Sub-Inspector in recording marks, and making duplicate and triplicate copies of the elaborate examination vouchers which thereby cease to be burdensome. They are thus converted into allies and assistants who will prove themselves most useful in influencing others as time goes on.

As regards the inspecting officers, granted that they have to prepare elaborate returns, to look and see what each pupil has done in previous years, to calculate how far the money allotted them will go so as to raise or lower somewhat their standard according to financial necessities; still all experience shows that nothing is easier than to teach a somewhat elaborate routine to departmental officers who have to make it their special study. After a few weeks it becomes simple enough to them, however complicated it may appear to persons coming upon it for the first time.

To the Magistrate the work it affords is almost nil. The entire proceedings come before him in the shape of a voucher to a bill. The results are all tabulated and can be ascertained at a glance; the record has been already examined in the Deputy Inspector's office and he can look over it as closely or superficially as his leisure and inclination suggest. As the figures would show, the returns and bills come in at the rate of about six a week (113 in 120 days, and 16 in 31 days); and less than 10 minutes devoted to looking over a week's return gives the magistrate a very good idea of how well or how badly the work is being done.

The examinations of another year are now complete, and the numerical progress attained cannot be better exhibited than by placing the results side by side with those of the years preceding it.

		1873-4	1874-5	1875-6
No. of patshalas examined	...	1669	1865	2,186
No. of pupils being taught in them	...	28,357	34,459	41,980
No. produced at the examination	...	8,939	11,141	14,324
No. passed in reading { 1st Standard	...	1,084	2,373	2,266
and writing ... { 2nd Standard	...	5,895	6,374	8,489
	Total	6,979	8,747	10,755
Number passed in { 1st Standard	...	1,170	2,363	2,479
Arithmetic ... { 2nd Standard	...	4,317	3,863	6,026
	Total	5,487	6,226	8,505
Number passed in zamindari and mahajani accounts	... ..	77	377	415

Thus, starting from the census figures of 1872, it appears that in three years the number of boys being taught at *patshalas* has more than doubled; and as the population of the district is about 2½ millions, the school-giving population calculated at 3,000,000 for the entire province would be 120,000 for the Midnapore District. Including improved *patshalas* and all other schools, the number at school is within a few hundreds of 50,000, and hence it is not too much to say that within 3 years considerable progress has been made towards teaching the entire male population to read and write. It is also gratifying to observe that not merely the number of *patshalas*, but also the average attendance per *patshala* is increasing, shewing that the parents are being attracted by it as well as the *gurus*.

On the other hand, the expenditure per annum has scarcely grown at all, it was almost the same in 1873-4 as in 1875-6. The greater number that passed does not indicate a greater number earning rewards, as the second year the *gurus* all expressed a wish to let those who had passed, pass again, even though they could earn no reward. The figures therefore are all the better adapted for comparison, as they indicate the actual capacity of the pupils year by year, except in this, that, as stated below, the examining officers are annually raising their standard.

The actual expense during the year on the 2,186 *patshalas* has been as follows:—

Sub centre Examinations.

To bonus for rewards including the allowance for stability and keeping registers	...	...	...	11,958
Spelling prizes to pupils	...	...	...	656
Contingencies	...	...	...	323
				<hr/>
				12,937

Centre Examinations.

Rewards to <i>Gurus</i>	...	...	...	1,086
" to pupils	...	...	...	796
Khoraki to unsuccessful <i>Gurus</i> who came from a distance	...	...	...	28
" to unsuccessful pupils	...	...	...	48
Contingencies	...	...	...	13
				<hr/>
				1,971

• Allowances to <i>Gurus</i> who were selected in 1874-5 as Assistant Secretaries	...	...	...	1,222
For filling up and submitting returns at 1 Re. per <i>patshala</i>	...	...	...	2,153 *

Total Rs. 18,283

or less than 7 annas per pupil under training. To meet this the *Gurus* themselves admit an income which comes to the average,

A few *Gurus* who were examined, either through sickness or neglect made no returns.

of 1-10 per pupil, and there can be no doubt that they understate their income not only because it is, if anything, their interest to do so, or because they receive many payments in kind which they do not include, but also because their own statements only give each *Guru* an average income of Rs. 3-4 per mensem, which is known to be below the mark ; compare this with Babu Bhudev's *patshalas*, which in the same district at an average cost of Rs. 58 per *patshala* to Government or fully 2 Rupees per pupil only elicited from the people 28 Rupees per *patshala* or annas 12 per pupil, and there can be little doubt as to the vast difference in costliness of the two schemes. Nor can it be said that this is due to the recent elevation of the indigenous *patshalas* which has had a depressing effect on the improved *patshalas*. For if we turn to the last year before the new scheme was introduced, we find Mr. Martin's figures for these same *patshalas* in the Midnapore District. He there reported that 5,671 pupils being trained in primary schools (4-5ths being improved *patshalas*) cost 10,072 Rupees to Government and only realised 4,929 in fees and 2,044 from other sources, chiefly mission funds. The results are not substantially different from those of the current year.

Moreover, while the expenses of stipendiary *patshalas* would increase as fast as the *patshalas*, if not faster, this is far from being the case with the Midnapore system. The centre prizes and the spelling prizes need obviously not be increased in proportion to the *Gurus* increase in pupils, neither need the number of Assistant Secretaries. The standard of passing might slowly and insensibly be raised, and it may safely be asserted that twice the money now spent would suffice for rewards to three times the present number of pupils, that is, to the education of the entire district.

It is hardly possible to realise these figures without admitting that unless the system receives some sudden check it will speedily realise the expectations of Sir G. Campbell, and for one district at least, solve the problem of the education of the masses ; it only remains to show that it has also falsified the anticipations of those who declared that the existing *Gurus* were unimproveable.

The best evidence we can adduce on this point, consists of the reports of the District Deputy Inspector and Sub-Inspectors who are charged with the working of the scheme. They have conducted the annual examinations year after year, and are unquestionably the most qualified, if not the *only* qualified, witnesses on the point. It may be said that they are prejudiced witnesses, but they are accustomed to speak freely and are ordered to speak freely, and they have nothing to gain by concealing the truth.

The Deputy Inspector of the district, Baboo Hari Mohen Banerji, sees, perhaps, least of the *patshalas*. He writes as follows :—

"More than one-third of the *patshalas* here have made perceptible progress in orthography, and the attention of the *Gurus* of the best of the *patshalas* has been directed to the subject. It is gratifying to see that nearly a fourth of the *patshalas* have introduced Bengali primers of their own accord, in order to improve in this subject."

The next quotations are from the senior Sub-Inspector of the district, the officer who has had more experience of the working of the scheme than any one else. He writes :—

"The system, it is superfluous to add, is very cheap and popular, and can be worked out easily and successfully by any man of average intelligence with a little practical experience.

By the adoption of the plan of simultaneous examinations and payments at sub-centres, it makes fraud easy of detection and enlists the sympathies of the people in the cause of primary education. It has, to a considerable extent, actually effected the education of the masses, long since aimed at by Government, and above all it utilizes and improves, with as little State expenditure as possible, the *bonâ fide Gurus* of the time-honored indigenous *patshalas*."

And a little further on :—

"It is gratifying to record that our primaries this year evince as much satisfactory progress by increase in numbers and numerical strength as by the quality of education imparted in them. The improvement in this latter respect is *too apparent and hopeful to admit of any question*. All that we now require is to have adequate funds under disposal to do justice to the *Gurus*. The inspecting officers, as a matter of course, are gradually raising year by year the test of their examination, only keeping themselves within the limit of primary standard. For my own part I was compelled, owing to insufficiency of funds, to apply, in the beginning, a much higher test than that of the preceding year ; nevertheless the primary boys, as a body, acquitted themselves to my satisfaction. To test the progress of the boys in manuscript reading, I carried with me a few old and rejected manuscripts of the Civil Courts, and I was amazed to find that a few of the *patshala* boys read them with a fluency which might have done credit to many advanced pupils of our aided Middle, English, and Vernacular Schools. In spelling and *zemin-dari* accounts, the boys of some *patshalas*, within a couple of years or so, have made a fair proficiency."

And again :—

"I noticed in my last year's report that the stimulus given to the course of primary education have induced many *Gurus* of our *patshalas* to improve themselves.

"This laudable emulation, on a desire of bettering one's own

condition, still manifests itself very apparently in a great many of our *Gurus*; some of them, whose age and presence at home do not permit them to enter the Normal School, I understand have purchased books, viz.—Arithmetic, grammar, and *zemindari* and *mahajani* accounts at their own expense, and leisurely resort to the pundits of neighbouring schools to receive instruction on these subjects.”

Unless this is pure invention, it is surely absurd to say that teachers, who act, thus are impervious to the influence of self-interest or unimprovable.

As regards the Sub-Committees this Sub-Inspector writes:—

“The Sub-Committees, making all allowance for their shortcomings, are indisputably very useful institutions. Their interests are inseparably connected with the interests of the sub-centres. They enlist the sympathies of the people in the cause of primary education, and act as immediate advisers to the Assistant Secretaries or head *Gurus*. The members being well-to-do men in the neighbourhood of the *patshala* command the respect of the masses.”

The next Sub-Inspector is in charge of the Ghattal Sub-Division—his report is brief, as regards the improvement of the *patshalas*, he writes:—

“It is likewise evident that the *Gurus* have, since last year, been paying greater attention to the teaching of *zemindari* accounts, as also to that of correct spelling and explanations. Printed school books, in addition to what are usually taught in *patshalas*, have been more generally adopted, by most of the *Gurus*.”

The Sub-Inspector of the Tumlook Sub-Division, also an advanced portion of the district, writes:—

“The improvement which has resulted from the payment by results system is more than I expected. I have observed some unmistakeable signs of this improvement at the recent examination. Very creditable progress has been made in orthography. In writing from dictation many boys committed no mistakes at all, and in awarding the highest prize, I had to determine their merits by taking into consideration their errors in punctuation, which, under ordinary circumstances, I would not have noticed.” ***

* * *

“I can speak from my own experience as a *pundit* that the students of the 9th year class of a good vernacular school, cannot acquit themselves better in dictation than some of these *patshala* boys have done this year.”

On the subject of these *patshalas* reaching the masses, he says:—

“The principal, or rather the only object of these *patshalas*, is the instruction of the masses and the results often, as you

stated above, are remarkable for the degree in which they have contributed to the fulfilment of that object."

This officer also notices precisely the same tendency on the part of the *Gurus* as was done by a previous Sub-Inspector :—

"As an unmistakeable indication of the popularity of the present scheme of primary instruction with the *Gurus*, I would refer to the desire they now evince to improve themselves. On every Sunday the *Gurus* of many places in my Sub-District go to their respective sub-centres, and there, with the assistance of the President, Secretary or any other member, they learn arithmetic, for which they show great aptitude. The manner in which this gratuitous instruction is given is highly creditable to the gentlemen of the Sub-Committees."

* * * * *

"The appointment of Assistant Secretaries is one of the several wise measures which are calculated to contribute to a wider diffusion of primary instruction. Generally the best *Gurus* are allowed to act as Assistant Secretaries. There is a certain degree of respectability attached to the post, which, together with the remuneration which it gives to its holder, has made it attractive in the eyes of the *Gurus*, and it has thus given rise to a sort of emulation among them which may be very profitably utilized in furthering the cause of primary education."

The Contai Sub-Inspector writes :—

"The encouragement given during the last two years to spelling and dictation has done material good to the *patshalas*, and I am glad to report that perceptible improvement has been noticed in that branch of study during the year under report. The reading of printed school-books, such as *Sisusikya*, and *Bodhoday* has been introduced in almost every *patshala*, the *Guru* of which is an inhabitant of the district."

The last Sub-Inspector is in charge of the most backward portion of the district. He writes :—

"It will be seen that 2,106 of the pupils belong to the first or primary stage,* that is, can read and write easy sentences in the vernacular. I cannot but look upon this as satisfactory, knowing from experience that 10 per cent. of the pupils returned to have been studying in this stage, might fairly be placed in the middle stage; if they were simply enrolled in the rights of the M. C. V. schools. Notwithstanding the satisfactory result noticed above, I regret to observe, that the orthography of the genuine E. *patshalas* is still as bad as ever."

The above extract is quoted because it is the one unfavourable remark found in the reports of the year regarding the improve-

* This refers to his portion of the district only.

ment of Bengallee *patshalas*. Whether it is that, being in the most backward part of the district, these *Gurus* are slower to study orthography than elsewhere, or whether this officer takes a less favourable view of their spelling than others, certain it is that he is as convinced of their general progress as the rest—further on, he writes:—

“From what is seen in the returns and what is known by experience, we cannot but naturally conclude that the *E. patshalas* of this district have considerably increased both in quality and number. The improvement seen is very useful without being ostentatious in the least. It is of much consequence in practical life, and has no tendency towards begetting in the pupils vanity, and abhorrence to the profession of their ancestors, unless it be quill-driving or the like. It is secured without any over-straining of power on the part of the *Gurus*, and without any inconvenience and unnecessary expense on the part of the pupils, or their guardians. In short, Midnapore with its own scheme of payment by results, has, as the facts attest, succeeded in teaching its boys to be progressive and at the same time to remain content with their palm-leaves for slates, their reeds for quills, their mats for benches, and generally, their fathers’ avocations as theirs.”

All the above extracts are from the reports for 1875-6, and thus within three years we find a spirit of emulation and competition aroused among the *Gurus*, a consciousness of their own deficiencies and a desire to improve themselves; an almost general introduction of printed books, attention paid to spelling, hitherto almost entirely neglected, and the introduction of school registers; while the immense increase in numbers shows unmistakeably that the *patshalas* still attract the masses.

We contend then that the practical working of the payment by results system in Midnapore shows conclusively that the plan of operations adopted in succession by Mr. Adam, by Sir J. P. Grant and Sir G. Campbell is practicable and capable of leading to the best results. We do not advocate its extension to Eastern Bengal, or to districts where indigenous *patshalas* are few and have to be created before they can be improved. We do not advocate its introduction in all its details anywhere, though it does seem that the essential features of the small circles, annual examinations, ready money payments, and absence of monthly stipends ought to be adopted throughout the Burdwan and Orissa Divisions, and wherever *patshalas* are numerous. But it is not the adoption of this detail or that detail which it is the object of this article to advocate; it is the acceptance of the principles on which the scheme rests which we are so anxious to make secure, and unfortunately they are at present anything but secure. If the Lieutenant-Governor proposes, the Educational

Department disposes, and we have seen the utter perversion of Sir J. P. Grant's plan which was effected while professing to abide by its general principles.

The deadly heresy of this department in reference to primary education is a feverish anxiety to improve anything they take in hand with a rapidity fatal to sound progress or to the original conception of the institution; and there are ample indications in the report for 1874-5 that this heresy is holding up its head again and has every prospect of success. We have seen how Mr. Sutcliffe scouted the idea of the mere extension of elementary education without improvement, and Sir Richard Temple has already been prevailed on under this specious plea, to take away from primary education one-third of the grant allotted to it and bestow it on secondary education. Sir George Campbell's injunction not to raise the standard of instruction, at least for some time to come, is entirely set at nought, and there is every danger that nine-tenths of the schools supported from the primary fund will follow close on the heels of the improved *patshalas*, and be appropriated by a somewhat lower stratum of the very same classes that already enjoy the whole educational grant. That "diversity of interests" between the well-to-do and lower classes of the community, which Babu Bhudev Mukerji speaks of, educational officers as a rule seem unable to comprehend, or at any rate, to draw the inference that the only way to preserve the *patshalas* for the rank and file is rigorously to exclude such a style of teaching as can be used for their purposes by the officers of society. The aim of Sir Richard Temple, or of those who speak in his name, is to establish a connecting link between the primary *patshalas* and the University, a policy which, if recommended on the score of symmetry, is, to say the least, very dangerous to the interests of the masses; since those above them may at any time take possession of the *patshalas* as a first step in the ladder, and divert them to their own purposes. That, in the present state of society in Bengal, 100 *patshalas* teaching reading, writing and arithmetic by old-fashioned and superannuated methods, may be doing better work for the masses than the same number of *patshalas* teaching English arithmetic, grammar, and geography seems to many an absurdity, but is a fundamental truth, and no man who has not grasped this truth is fit to be trusted with the regulation of primary education in Bengal.

Forty years ago there was substantially one and the same education in Bengal for the upper and middle classes as for the lower classes. The former were utterly under-educated, but the latter gained by the association. The boon of superior education was then offered to the former and accepted by them with an appreciation of class interest and an intelligence characteristic

of the Bengallee; the success and popularity of the movement was almost without parallel, and in the course of a generation the country has become covered with a net-work of schools of all kinds, qualifying for appointments of every description all who were ambitious enough to seek for them; but the masses thus deprived of the assistance of their wealthier brethren have retrograded year after year, till at the present time, they are well known to be far more ignorant as a whole than they were before the Government actively interfered in the cause of education.

Hence, it is now the duty of Government to redress the balance and do something to protect the agricultural classes from being led like sheep either into the extreme of subservience under the thumb of an unscrupulous landlord, or into the opposite extreme of unreasoning hostility at the beck of a designing agitator.

At present these classes, at every step, find themselves in the hands of others—they cannot read their *kabuliuts*, or their receipts, keep their own rent accounts, write a petition, read a proclamation, or sign their names; almost every *gomashta* levies ‘*tahoori*’ from them on the plea that he has to do their writing work for them.

It has, therefore, been again and again resolved that the primary schools for the education of the masses must be fostered by Government; but over and over again these good intentions have ended in only further injury to their interests. As Babu Bhudev Mukerji was never tired of pointing out, the indigenous “*patshalas* are not schools for the masses exclusively, but at the same time there cannot be the least doubt that they teach the masses.” To the latter they are the end-all of their teaching, to the former they are only the first step. Hence it is evident that if the Government interferes with these institutions, the very greatest caution is necessary to prevent this interference being mischievous in its consequences to the very class it is intended to benefit.

The upper classes who frequent these *patshalas* are only too glad to see them taken up by Government and improved, to see grammar, maps, English, arithmetic, &c., introduced. The masses who look on this as useful solely as a foundation for future scholastic attainments and English education, lose their interest and begin to drop off.” Hence, time after time they have been improved out of the very schools supported for their benefit. The indigenous *patshalas* were improved into circle schools, and promptly ceased to be attended by the classes for whom they were intended; they were converted into improved *patshalas* with a similar result.

The great danger even in the Midnapore system is lest

the same results should follow from the interest manifested by Government in the welfare of the *patshala*, but hitherto the rapid increase among the pupils extending to one-third of the entire male *patshala*-going population shows clearly that it has been avoided.

It may be contended, however, with some show of reason that, to say the least, it is inconsistent for Government to contribute so small a portion of the *patshala* expenditure and to leave the masses to bear so large a proportion of their own education,—and that the boast above made, that every 7 annas from Government has elicited nearly 2 rupees from the parents, is the severest condemnation of the system that could be written. Such criticism is at one and the same time true and untrue. It is true that the poorer the classes are, the larger the share of their education that Government ought to contribute; but apart from the argument that in return for such aid Government would exact a share in their management which would be fatal to their dependence on popular support, comes the far sterner argument that the money is not there, and that we do the best we can with the tools we have to work with. If the Midnapore district can only spend 20,000 rupees a year on primary education it is far better to aid 40,000 pupils at 8 annas per head and obtain 80,000 from their parents, than to help 10,000 pupils at 2 rupees per head and obtain 10,000 rupees only from their parents. Especially when nine-tenths of the 40,000 will belong to the masses and only half or less than half of the 10,000.

It is the absence of interference with the *Gurus*, the refusing them any monthly stipend, the forcing them to be popular, by making their popularity the condition of their existence, that has chiefly led to their rapid extension at the expense of the parents. The people have been taken with the annual examinations, those who have passed have talked over their success, other parents have wished to see their children pass also when passing involves nothing more than attendance at their accustomed village *patshala*. Each village has looked upon its *Guru* as its own creature, has, so to speak, run him against the rival *Gurus* and taken a pride in his success.

It may fairly be said of this scheme as Mr. Adam said of his proposals, (and, indeed, what is it but Mr. Adam's proposals put into practice?) that "the plan does not come into collision with indigenous elementary schools or with the interests of the teachers. On the contrary, it enlists them all in the race of improvement, and establishes the most friendly relations with them.

The leading idea is that of building on the foundations which the people themselves have laid, and of employing them on the scaffolding and outworks, so that when they shall see the noble

superstructure rising, and finally raised complete in all its parts, they will almost, if not altogether, believe it to be the work of their own hands." *

The Midnapore edifice cannot, it is true, claim to be in any way a noble superstructure ; but if it succeeds in teaching a population larger than that of many a German kingdom to read and write, to keep their own accounts, to be independent of the *zemindar's gomashita* and the village *mokhtear*, above all to look on Government as their patron and its officers as their friends, the time and labour bestowed upon it will not have been wasted.

H. L. HARRISON.

NOTE ON THE PRECEDING ARTICLE.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE are confident that all those of our readers who take any interest in the great question of mass-education in this country, will thank us for putting before them such a clear and forcible exposition, as that which is given in the preceding article, of one of the most hopeful of the many efforts that have been made towards the solution of the problem.

Still, they probably will not fail to observe that some of Mr. Harrison's assumptions and some of his arguments are not quite in harmony with the views which, during many years of controversy, we have steadily supported in these pages; and it is on this account that we deem it necessary, for the sake of the consistency of the *Calcutta Review*, with the permission of our contributor, to append this *Note of dissent*—or, we should rather say, of qualified approval. Happily the controversy on this subject has now lost all that bitterness by which it was once characterised: and we trust that the appearance of Mr. Harrison's thoughtful and moderate paper in this *Review* may be regarded as a token that the question of mass-education in Bengal is henceforward to be discussed with a sobriety that will show that the disputants are more concerned to find out the truth than to ride hobbies, and with that courtesy which argues confidence in one's own opinions as well as respect for those of one's opponent. But it seems necessary for us frankly to express our belief, in accordance with the views often enunciated in these pages, that Mr. Harrison's estimate alike of the principles and of the exertions of the Education Department—and especially of its former head, the late Mr. Atkinson—in the matter of primary instruction, is hardly a just one. It would obviously be out of place for us here to enter upon a discussion of the points wherein we differ from Mr. Harrison. For the present, it is sufficient for us once more to place on record our opinion that the Reports on Educational Administration in Bengal under Mr. Atkinson's *régime* amply prove—*First*, that the Department, so far from being hostile to mass-education, has always been loudly crying for larger assignments to enable it to extend its operations in this direction; *secondly*, that it would have been unfaithful to its great trust—which is to maintain and foster *all* branches of the educational system alike, not to cherish one at the expense of the others—if it had ever lent a willing ear to the suggestions of those who, familiar with only one portion of the country's educational needs, demanded that primary instruction should absorb funds needed to support the higher branches of

instruction, on which depend the supply of books and teachers, and the very maintenance amongst the people of a desire for instruction, not to mention the more immediate and obvious benefits directly conferred on the country by our secondary and higher instruction; *thirdly*, that the Department eagerly set to work to make the most of Sir George Campbell's very handsome assignment wherever it was allowed to have any voice in the matter—and this, at first, in spite of a very general feeling that the four lakhs given to Paul were to some extent coming out of Peter's pocket—in spite of not altogether groundless apprehensions that much haste in the founding of many *patshalas* may not always result in good speed—and in spite (perhaps) of a little not unnatural soreness at comparing the liberal grant made to the new scheme with the parsimony which had so long cramped the exertions of the Department in the same field. We have not the least wish to rekindle the fires of the old controversies on these subjects, which are now happily obsolete. Under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple, the tentative measures sketched in outline by Sir George Campbell four years ago, are now in process of development and rapidly approaching completion throughout Bengal; and if the plans and elevations of the great edifice of primary education seemed somewhat rough and crude at first, it is now confessed by all that the structure is beginning to display a symmetry and a strength which might not improbably astonish even its original architect.

ART. VII.—THE EURASIANS OF CEYLON.

- 1.—*A Description of Ceylon, containing an Account of the Country, Inhabitants, and Natural Productions.* By the Rev. James Cordiner, M.A., (London, 1807).
- 2.—*Ceylon and the Singhalese.* By H. C. Sirr, M.A. (London 1850).
- 3.—*An Account of the Island of Ceylon.* By Robert Percival, Esq., of H. M. 19th Regiment of Foot. (London, 1803),
- 4.—*Minutes of Evidence (and Appendix) taken by Select Committee of the House of Commons on Ceylon Affairs,* 1849-50.
- 5.—*Ceylon Almanac*, 1846.
- 6.—*Ceylon Directory*, 1873-75.
- 7.—*The Census of Ceylon, taken in 1871.*
- 8.—“*Ceylon Observer*” Newspaper.
- 9.—“*Ceylon Examiner*” Newspaper.
- 10.—“*Madras Mail*” Newspaper.
- 11.—*Colombo Friend-in-Need Society's Reports*, 1869-1876.
- 12.—*Our Social Customs ; Lecture by Mr. Advocate Eaton.*
- 13.—*Third Annual Report of the Local Government Board (England)* 1873-74.
- 14.—“*Encyclopædia Britannica*” (new edition, 1876) Vol. I., Art., “*Acclimatisation.*”

HE would be a bold man who, in Ceylon, should venture to use a term of scorn or reproach, in the newspapers, or publicly in any form, regarding the Eurasians of that island. They occupy a position so immensely superior, comparatively, to that of the Eurasians of the continent, that it may fairly be considered the “poor white” question has settled itself, so far as Ceylon is concerned. To some extent it has, but there is still a residuum needing Governmental or Municipal care and special control. Much commiseration is not needed for a section of people, one of whom becomes, successively, Queen’s Advocate (corresponding, to compare small things with great, to the post of Legal Member of the Governor-General’s Council, and something more), and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court ; whilst, during the time he wears the ermine in the latter capacity, he has, as his senior colleague, a gentleman of great ability, also of “mixed”

parentage. Thus, two out of the three judges of the Supreme Court of Ceylon in 1875, were Eurasians, (or, to adopt and continue throughout this paper the term used in Ceylon, Burghers), which is as if two-thirds of the Calcutta High Court, or the Madras Chief Bench Judges, were of the class referred to. To state this fact is to show at once how vastly in advance of India, socially, is the large island to the south-east of the continent. This fact becomes the more plainly apparent when it is asserted that, amongst the ablest and hardest-working District Judges a Burgher has pre-eminence; that the leaders of the Metropolitan Bar in the Supreme and District Courts owe their parentage and training to the island; that the same thing is true of Provincial Courts; that some of the ablest subordinate administrative officers in out-stations are of this class; that the clerical branch of the Public Service "is mainly in the hands of Burghers, Europeans only being at the Heads of Departments; and that, of the Ceylonese youths now studying in Calcutta (for medicine) and at the English and Scotch Universities for the Civil Service and the Bar, a large proportion is of Burgher origin. As will be seen in the sequel, this eminence has been obtained in the face of great obstacles, and without those educational aids which wealthy cities like Calcutta or Madras are able to provide, or which free institutions, like those of England and America, so richly develop. In social life the Burghers take their place and worthily hold their own; and, save in certain qualities, such, for instance, as perseverance and persistence, do not display any marked inferiority to the dominant race, the British. Looked at in various aspects, the history of this people may not be altogether without service to India in regard to the treatment of her "poor whites," a small and feeble folk among her mighty populations, but destined, unless properly treated, to work great mischief.

I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BURGHER SECTION OF THE CEYLONESE COMMUNITY.

It is not certain that Albuquerque, the Portuguese commander who "won Goa by hard fighting," and whose subsequent policy it was "to promote marriages between the Portuguese and Indian women," ever visited Ceylon, but certainly the policy ascribed to him whilst ruler of the western coast of India, was carried out by his countrymen on the sea-board of Ceylon. However, it did not need that any "policy" should be decided upon in this respect by the leaders of Portuguese expeditions. Nature would have taken the matter in hand if Albuquerque had not. The localities where the Portuguese were "permitted to trade" were looked upon

by them from the first as destined to be retained as colonies of their most Christian King. Where they landed, there they meant to stay. They brought no females with them in the crowded, almost fetid, clumsily-built ships, in which they struggled past the Cape of Storms afterwards to be the Cape "of Good Hope," and sailed ever northward and eastward* till they anchored off Indian Ceylonese, or Sumatran ports. Consequently, it was but natural that it seemed "good in their eyes" that they should take unto themselves wives of the women of the country where they were, and they did so. In India this was done largely, as of deliberate policy, so that too continual a drain should not be made upon the little Kingdom which faces the broad Atlantic, and which was the mother of these bold maritime adventurers. In Ceylon, undoubtedly, the same cause contributed to the intermarriages which took place between the Portuguese and Singhalese. The spirit which had led these bold and daring spirits to cross (hitherto) trackless oceans, found vent when on shore and settled down—(we are confining ourselves now to the doings of the Portuguese in Ceylon, though a similar story is told of India)—in the practice of great and terrible cruelties towards the natives, with the result that fifteen years after first landing, and two after commencing to build a fort, so exasperated were the people, a people who, from their inoffensiveness, have been termed "the women of the human race," at the treatment they had received, that the strangers were besieged and shut up in the fort for seven months. Of their wanton barbarity generally and everywhere, Mr. Cordiner says (vol. ii., page 37):—"The coasts of Ceylon have been laid waste by a second race of invaders [the Muhammadans were the first]. To the fury and fanaticism with which the Portuguese pulled down every monument of the Hindu religion, and the cruelty with which they persecuted those who professed it, may, in a great measure, be ascribed the still conspicuous barrenness of this part of the coast" [the north-western]. Ruled from Goa, rather than from Lisbon, every effort was made by the Portuguese by intrigue,—which reached so far as to baptize and give a Christian name to a Singhalese Queen, dominant in the low-country, whose Court was held a few miles inland from Colombo;—and by force, to obtain possession of the whole island. On one occasion, 132 years after their arrival, that is in 1637, an army consisting of 1,300 Europeans and mesticos and 6,000 Kaffirs, penetrated to Kandy, only to be surrounded, all put to the sword, and their heads cut off and piled in a pyramid. Never-

* It is stated, though I am not able at this moment to give the authority save that I think it occurs in the account given by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I to the great

Mogul, that vessels from Europe to India, in the early part of the seventeenth century, used to make the Island of Socotra, thence sailing eastward.

theless, spite of the antagonism raised by duplicity and by open force, the Portuguese, as half-castes, grew and multiplied largely in the land, that is in the maritime districts. To a casual observer in Ceylon, as in India, the Portuguese seemed in larger numbers than they actually were: this was owing to the practice they introduced of giving "Christain" names to children of wealthy natives, on the occasion of their baptism while infants. India, with her mighty indigenous population, has swept away or absorbed nearly every vestige of the practice; Ceylon, insular and comparatively small, exhibits the characteristic now as prominently as ever. So much so that, during the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to Ceylon, several members of His Royal Highness's suite were curious to know how it was that the fine-looking, distinctly native Singhalese Maha Mudaliyar, was called John Perera! His proper family name is Wijesekere Gunawardana, but centuries ago the name of Perera was given to his forefathers, and it has remained a patronymic. A glance at the portion of the Ceylon Directory devoted to the names of the principal residents in Ceylon, shows whole pages of Pereira, Perera, Bartholomeuz, Dias, and others of that ilk, the possessors of a great many of which are purely Singhalese. It was mainly with the Singhalese women that Portuguese intermarriages took place; Tamils then formed but a small proportion of the population of the western coast, and not many of the European intruders settled down in Jaffna and the north, where, of necessity, their mates would be of Dravidian origin, as those in the Colombo region were Aryan.

Unfortunately, the figures are not available which would show how many Porto-Singhalese inhabitants were in Ceylon when the Dutch conquered and took possession. De Rebeiyro (translation by George Lee, Colombo, 1847), writing of a period some considerable time before the Dutch become possessors of Ceylon, says (page 46):—"There were more than 900 noble families resident in the town of Colombo, and upwards of 1,500 families of persons attached to the courts of justice, merchants, and substantial citizens. There were two parishes named Our Lady's and St. Lawrence's. . . . Outside the walls there were seven parishes. All the inhabitants were enlisted into militia companies, some being exclusively Portuguese, others exclusively native. . . . When a company composed of Portuguese mounted guard, although it consisted generally but of eighty or ninety men, they appeared more than 200, as no Portuguese ever went without one attendant at least." All this, however, about the large number of noble and other families must be taken *cum grano salis*, for when Colombo capitulated on the 10th of May, 1656, according to Rebeiyro's own confession, (p. 139), and he was present during the siege, the whole garrison

consisted of but sixty-three men. Bearing in mind the small bodies of Europeans who left home in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for conquest under tropic skies and in orient and southern seas, Cortes' and Pizarro's expeditions in America for instance, there is greater semblance of truth in the narration as to the number who left Colombo after the capitulation than there is in the statement as to the thousands alleged to be residing in the parishes of Our Lady and St. Lawrence. Whatever the actual number may have been, certainly no Portuguese left the island with the exception of a few soldiers when the arrangements concerning the capitulation were completed. There are other causes, which will be subsequently noted, to account for this race being preserved and still able to propagate "after its kind;"* but here the suggestion may be ventured as to why, in the progeny of Portuguese fathers and Singhalese mothers, through successive generations, while the European element must necessarily be growing fainter, the facial characteristics of the male original parent should be maintained. There is a curious resemblance between the features of a poor Ceylonese "mechanic" of the present day and the well-known Portuguese type of face as it appears in the likenesses of men of ancient renown, and some of the Ceylon Portuguese not much darker in complexion than dwellers in fair Lusitania. Can the reason be, that the Portuguese were so much more, inherently, a *strong* race, that even now, when eight or ten generations, under a tropical sky, have been diluting the vital force, the original dominance is yet seen and felt? Certain it is that in most of the Portuguese inhabitants of Ceylon, the European features, and, to some extent, physique, are maintained. Far otherwise would it appear to be in India. T. C. Plowden, Esq., of Tipperah, Bengal, as quoted in the *Calcutta Review* for 1851, writing in 1821, says that "the Christian population residing in Tipperah are the descendants of the Portuguese who settled at Chittagong a century ago; that many of the families are so entirely incorporated with the natives of the country as hardly to bear a distinguishing mark, except in the names of *Feringhis* or Christians; they are of the lowest of the people; are extremely poor,"* &c. All through the Dutch period in Ceylon, from 1656 to 1795, and the English rule from 1796 to the present time, the Porto-Singhalese have remained a distinct people in the body politic. What their present position is will be better told later on.

* Percival, writing in 1801, (p. 144) says:—"The present Portuguese of Ceylon are a mixture of the spurious descendants of the several European possessors of that Island by native women, joined to a

number of Moors and Malabars. A colour more approaching to black than white, with a particular mode of dress, half Indian and half European, is all that is necessary to procure the appellation of a Portuguese."

It might be anticipated, from the known phlegmatic tendencies of the Dutch, their adherence to the Reformed religion, and other causes, that, during their residence in Ceylon, there would not be a free mixing with the natives such as had marked the history of the semi-tropical Portuguese. Nevertheless there was almost unrestricted intercourse, and not altogether on the part of the common soldiers. Fairly frequent communication with the home country and with Java, it is true, was kept up, but even the higher military and civil officers were, with few exceptions, unable to bring wives with them to the East. The great majority had not this privilege, could not have it under the circumstances under which Dutch conquest and colonization were carried on in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The story is told by old Burgher residents, who heard it from their parents, these latter living in Dutch times, that no European ladies whatsoever came to Ceylon save the Governor's wife; that the means of the civil and military servants of this thrifty nation would not permit of their bringing to Ceylon wives of their own countrywomen. Further, accommodation was not provided on board the East Indian traders for women, and, stronger still, as corroborative evidence, the Singhalese were in the habit of speaking of the Governor's lady as "*Nona d' Hollande*" ("*The Lady of Holland*!") and it is the firm belief of many of the Burghers that there is not a single Dutch family in Ceylon which is entirely free from native connection.* It is also believed that a great many persons from the respectable and well-to-do portion of the Dutch community left the island for Batavia after the capitulation of Colombo in 1796. As regards European wives for Far East military officers or civilians in the eighteenth century, even the Indian servants of John Company had not, in the majority of cases, the opportunity of taking such with them from England; and it was an open and undisguised matter, in those days, to have as part of the ordinary household, a connection which at the present time is not openly tolerated. The intercourse of the Dutch in Ceylon with the natives was purer and infinitely higher than had been that of their predecessors. Scarcely anything can be conceived which could be worse than the sensual sloth, vileness, and cruelty which marked the Portuguese of Western India, Ceylon, and those resident near the mouths of the Ganges. Of their lawlessness and recklessness in the last-named locality, the tiger-haunted Sunderbuns, where once stood busy and flourishing cities, are an abiding proof. So far as a European people and Government, carried out on the Colonist principle of the Hollanders,

* Percival, in 1803, (at page 144) says:—"The Dutchmen alleges that the cause of those intermarriages being so prevalent is that scarcely any woman leaves Holland to come to India except those who are already married."

viz., that the mother-country shall pecuniarily benefit from the connection, would permit, the Dutch in Ceylon were a civilizing force. But this force extended only in two directions,—one stable, the other essentially false and insecure. Through their dealings in cinnamon, the cultivation of which they kept a close monopoly, they engrafted upon the people of the low country some European habits of order and thrift. By making it a *sine qua non* that holders of office, however mean and low in the official scale, should be baptized and professing Christians; they veneered a population with apparent goodness whilst they honeycombed it with hypocrisy. The essential instability of their mode of Christianizing was seen in the fact that, in 1790, there were hundreds of thousands of so-called native Christians; in 1800, four years after the capitulation, when this qualification was not demanded by the British rulers, there were, so to speak, no native Christians at all. The class which thus melted away like a shower of hail-stones in an Indian summer were known by the significant appellation of "Government Christians." This, however, is apart from our present theme, which is the origin of the Burgher population of Ceylon. On the assumption of the British to possession and power in Ceylon, in the closing years of the past century, as has been said, they found no inconsiderable portion of the people either wholly half-castes, like the Portuguese, or with some admixture of native blood, like the Dutch. Some few, very few, of these latter, it is asserted, were purely Dutch, and at the present day there are several families which claim to be still "untainted" * as the word goes, though the present writer sees no reason why the expression should be used as a term of reproach. Unfortunately, the subject is felt to be one of peculiar social concern, and the valuable conclusions which might be drawn as regards the acclimatization of a European people within the confines of the Himalayas on the one side and Dondra Head in Ceylon on the other, cannot be fully considered, for want of particulars, application for which would be resented as an insult. Some details will be given further on, but respect for the feelings of many worthy and estimable people warn us off from full enquiry. In and through the Dutch portion of this section of the half-dozen races of Ceylon, a comparatively small number of this class being Anglo-Asians,—a term that will denote one side of their parentage,—the British Government have been able to partially solve one of the vital questions of the Eastern possessions of Great

* In noticing the Census Returns of 1871, as they affect "European descendants in Colombo," to be referred to hereafter, the Editor of the *Ceylon Observer* says, "If there are four real Dutchmen and two pure Portuguese in the city (born in Holland and Portugal respectively), that must be the utmost."

Britain, *eg.*, bringing a whole people of diverse races into perfect accord, and so uplifting them and fostering the idea of self-government, the genius for which already existed, as to have brought the entire nation to the threshold of representative and *quasi*-responsible government. How this has been done an attempt will subsequently be made to show.

II.

THE BURGHES COMMUNITY UNDER BRITISH RULE: ITS DEVELOPMENT, ITS CHARACTERISTICS, AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY ON THE NATIVES.

The Dutch called their Portuguese subjects, and certain of the native inhabitants of the sea-coast towns, "Burghers," though their privileges as burgesses were *nil*, whilst the restrictions they had to submit to were neither few nor easy to bear; many of these were particularly irksome, and life regulated by Dutch proclamations could have been little better than social slavery. The designation the Dutch gave to others was subsequently made to include themselves also. At first it was felt as a stigma, but gradually this feeling has been removed, and now, in their newspaper, the *Examiner*, they openly and invariably speak of themselves as forming the Burgher community, and are not slow to act as though they were quite abreast with the British residents and decidedly much in advance of the natives, a course of action and an assumption with which the educated natives do not cordially agree. An early historian of Ceylon, after the British became the ruling race, the Rev. James Cordiner, Chaplain to the Garrison of Colombo, gives a description of the Dutch and Portuguese in 1804, which may be taken as a starting point for our review of their career to the present time. He says:—

The Dutch inhabitants in Ceylon are about nine hundred in number, and, excepting a few families, are reduced to circumstances of great indigence: but by rigid and meritorious economy, and some of the lesser labours of industry they maintain an appearance, in the eyes of the world, sometimes affluent and gay, always decent and respectable.

They are chiefly composed of officers (prisoners of war) with their families, and widows and daughters of deceased civil and military servants of the Dutch East India Company. The greater part of them are proprietors of houses, which they let, with considerable advantage, to the English inhabitants. If a poor family should possess only one good house, they retire into a smaller or less convenient one, and enjoy the benefit of the overplus of the rent, which they receive by relinquishing a more comfortable dwelling.

The Dutch inhabitants are allowed the undisturbed exercise of their religion: and the clergymen receive from Government an allowance equal to one-half of their former stipends. . . . All the private soldiers capable of bearing arms, who fell into our hands on the capture of

the Island, were sent to Madras, where the greater part of them enlisted into His Majesty's service.

There is still a large body of inhabitants at Columbo and the other settlements in Ceylon, known by the name of Portuguese. They probably amount to the number of five thousand: they are, however, completely degenerated, and exhibit complexions of a blacker hue than any of the original natives. Yet they retain a considerable portion of the pride of their ancestors: wear the European dress: profess the religion of the Church of Rome; and think themselves far superior to the lower classes of the Singhalese. The greater part of them were admitted by the Dutch to all the privileges of citizens under the denomination of Burghers.

There were not many Englishmen disposed to speak so favourably of the Dutch, or the natives either, for the matter of that, as Mr. Cordiner does in the foregoing paragraphs, and elsewhere in his work. There was not much association between the different sections of the community, each misunderstood the other, as they do to the present day, though the greatest share of the misconception, it must be confessed, is on the side of the English. In early times, the very earliest English era, Sir Frederick North, Governor, initiated a state of social good feeling, that it would have been better for the advancement of the island if his successors had imitated. The Honorable James Alwis, M.L.C., a Singhalese scholar of high repute, in a "History of Ceylon," now preparing for the press, indicates this in a very interesting chapter. Amongst other things, he says:—"The colonists had easy access to the Governor,—a privilege without which an Oriental people is not easily reconciled to a new *régime*. Two days in the week he especially devoted to seeing them. Every New Year's Day his house was open to those who attended in large bodies to pay their respect to the representative of the King. His hospitality extended to all classes of the community. If the Dutch ladies took offence at a character given of them in a work published by an English officer, and refused to visit North, he was not long before he secured their good will towards himself and the English nation." Instead of this kind of thing continuing, as it well might and ought in so small a community as that of Ceylon, social barricades were erected and the gulf widened, so that the strongest feelings of contempt and disdain came to be engendered and expressed of the Burgher and native people by English officials and writers. Two brief quotations will serve to show this, and whilst accepted as one side of the shield, impressions in the last case evidently being made by a cursory acquaintance with Portuguese mechanics, ignorant and drunken, it must be borne in mind, as will subsequently be shown, at the very time when the most supreme contempt was being expressed for the mixed population, some of the Dutch Burghers were displaying a degree of public spirit

not far behind that which had been manifested in England a short time previously by the Corn Law Repealers, when their proposal for the entire abolition of corn duties was unfashionable and derided by "cautious" politicians. The most unpopular Governor Ceylon has ever had was Lord Torrington. His own blundering accounts for his unpopularity. How greatly he could blunder is apparent from the fact that he thoughtlessly roused the bitterest animosity against himself amongst the Burghers by maligning them in a despatch to Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In one place he said, "Efforts were made by one or two turbulent Europeans, supported and assisted by many of the peculiar class of people called Burghers, to kindle dissatisfaction in the minds of the Singhalese natives." Again, "I shall repel with the most vigorous determination all the efforts of the Burgher community (a class which I am not aware to be found elsewhere) to make use of the native Singhalese inhabitants, to promote their own selfish purposes." Further, with scorn and contempt, he described them as "the half-bred descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants." Very shortly after the time when Lord Torrington was thus rudely insulting a portion of the people he governed, a retired barrister, Mr. H. C. Sirr, M.A., formerly Deputy Queen's Advocate for the Southern Provinces, brought out a work on "Ceylon and the Singhalese," in which, at page 40, vol. ii., he says:—"The half castes of Ceylon, or Burghers as they are called in the Island, adopt the European costume. We allude only to the males, the women blending in their dress a strange mixture of the European and native attire. The male half castes are far below the Singhalese both in physical power, stature, personal appearance, and mental capabilities; their complexions are less clear, their features ill-formed, and the expression of their countenances is heavy and sensual, being as deficient in corporeal attractions as they are destitute of moral rectitude and probity. It is most extraordinary, but all those who have been in the East frankly admit that among the half castes is to be found every vice that disgraces humanity, and nowhere is this axiom more strikingly exemplified than in the male and female Burghers of Ceylon. In making this statement we do not mean to assert that ALL* are destitute of good feeling, as we have known two or three men who possessed kindly feelings and cultivated minds, but, unfortunately, such are exceptions to the general rule." There are Englishmen in Ceylon at the present time, knowing little or nothing of the Burghers, save as inferior assistants in business, who would say that this description of Mr. Sirr's is still true, though really a grosser

* The small capitals are Mr. Sirr's, not the present writer's.

libel was hardly ever perpetrated on any community. Mr. Sirr evidently made the not uncommon mistake of "lumping" the Portuguese Burghers and the Dutch Burghers. The former, who had been long in the East, had, by indulgence in vice, sunk below the Singhalese amongst whom their lot was cast; and to those acquainted with the lower classes of this race, Mr. Sirr's picture is recognized as having some elements of truth, but every word of that description is false if intended to apply to the Dutch Burghers. Particular care ought to be taken to draw a distinct line between the two sections of Burghers. No Portuguese Burgher has yet risen to anything beyond a master tailor, and it is principally among the members of this class that the sole ground for direct Government assistance lies. An endeavour may here be made to show the position (1) *Socially* and (2) *Politically* of the Burghers, premising that what is stated is intended to apply mainly to the descendants of the Hollanders and Englishmen.

(1) *Socially*.—Only a few years ago, when the Burghers of Colombo (and what is said of these will apply also to those in out-stations) lived within easy walking distance of each other, and had not erected for themselves villa residences in suburban localities, many old Dutch customs, on which had been engrafted some Singhalese practices, were in vogue amongst them in full force and vigour. These have been garnered, in the form of a lecture by one of their number, a practising Advocate, and, taking a compatriot from the cradle to the grave, he tells of the quaint doings which marked various stages of ordinary life. One thing was not brought from Holland, *viz.*, the desire for a fair complexion, which all the Burghers have in greater or less degree. The wish crops up in the remark made about the infant, a few hours' old, by a visitor desirous to pay a compliment, who says, "I think it will be a *fair* child," to which all present assent with murmuring approval. The English maxim is reversed, and we have here "the ruling passion strong at birth." The birth itself had been signalled by the continuous striking of a brass pan, the reason alleged being to "drown the cries of the infant lest evil spirits should be attracted to the spot." And so on, further rejoicings and distinctive ceremonies marked the appearance of the first tooth, the first shaving of the young man's beard, the arranging for a marriage when the young people had become "smitten" with each other's charms, the ceremonies at the wedding, the celebration of silver wedding and golden wedding, the funeral whereat was "great lamentation, and weeping, and mourning,"—these events in the most commonplace of lives, and many others, were made the occasion for social intercourse and pleasant meetings. A widely-diffused neighbourliness was the result. The head of the household in which these things took place was, very probably, chief clerk in a

Government office, or book-keeper to a mercantile firm. Very trustworthy were the old Burghers said to be in this capacity, so at least remark those whose reminiscences of by-gone times are becoming of a roseate hue, chiefly because the times are far off, and who, in addition, are presently plagued with clerks not remarkable for steadiness or assiduity to business. *

The type of the old Burgher clerk is described in the story of the book-keeper, who made it a matter of religion that his ledger should balance, and who never ventured to strike that balance on a week-day. Instead of that, on each Saturday evening the office peon took the firm's ledger to the book-keeper's house. On Sunday morning it was taken in hand, *prayed over*, and the totals set one against the other. If they were found to agree the book-keeper would be a worshipper at the morning service at Wolvendahl (Dutch Presbyterian) Church or at the Baptist Chapel, but if otherwise—neither legend nor record existeth to indicate what then happened.

- As a class, the Burghers are thought by most Englishmen to be given to dressy display and ornamentation of the person, a practice leading to chronic indebtedness to Moor traders, who mainly do the shop-keeping business of the island. In this respect the community are said to be getting worse than they were hitherto wont to be. A defence of them, however, has been made to the writer in the following remarks, which, however, leaves the matter pretty much as stated above:—"The clerks, who constitute the great body of Dutch Burghers, are miserably underpaid; they marry early, and are, of necessity, in a chronic state of indebtedness, and this in the effort to procure the bare necessities of life. One new bonnet at Christmas, and a few muslin dresses during the year, are all the average Burgher wife aspires to. The thrift and economy with which they strive, and often succeed, in 'making both ends meet' is deserving of all praise."

The professions the Burghers most take to are those which may be styled genteel, which is a consequence of the lack of energetic physical force which marks them as a rule. In the medical profession and before a desk they are *facile principes*. The greatest ambition of all, however, that is cherished by the Burgher lad, is to get into Government service. Not only because there are prizes there, such as the First Assistant Colonial Secretaryship, and Assistant-Auditor Generalship, both at this time in very worthy Burgher hands, but also because of the pension secured by a length of service, and a certain aroma of undefined respectability which hangs about Government employ, attractive to semi-orientals as much as to indigenous Easterns; indeed, this has a fascination for the ablest among them, which is hard to be understood. Consequently, the "volunteer" clerk has been known to fill up his

spare time, and time that was not "spare," but which ought to have been otherwise occupied, in covering wholesheets of foolscap by conceiving possible bliss, which takes the shape of writing his name thus—

F. JNO. BROHIER ALBUQUERQUE, C.C.S.

in all imaginable forms, the variations, however, being generally played upon the three capital letters at the end, which are written in many forms and in diverse ways. This, however, does not so much refer to the class whose education and ability would fit them for the Civil Service proper; the "C.C.S." of such aspirants refers more to the Chief Clerical Service than to the charmed covenanted circle, which can now only be entered by a writer who has had an English training. The great body of young clerks and proctors in Colombo, some of the most pronounced natural ability, were not a few of them unable to finish their scholastic career from want of means. Paterfamilias had a large family, the younger brothers and sisters required schooling and clothing, and the young men had reluctantly to leave school and take to "quill-driving" in Government, legal, or mercantile offices, not because of a particular fascination about pen-work, as from the fact that there was no other career open to him. Not many of them have taken to coffee-planting. This has frequently been quoted against them as a cause for reproach, but it is hardly fair to look upon the fact in this light. That calling exhibits so many charms for Englishmen of character and wealth, that the comparatively physically and financially poor Burgher has no chance in the struggle which, in coffee-planting as in all things else, ends only in the "survival of the fittest." One Burgher, and one only, has made money out of this pursuit, and he has retired at middle age, in the flower of life, with a fortune estimated at two and a half lakhs of rupees.

The individual Burgher is a very law-abiding peaceful citizen. Youthful vivacity and mischief bubbles over and finds vent in cutting a neighbour's rats, much as the watch used to be assaulted and knockers wrenched off doors by the *jeunesse dorée* of England, three-quarters of a century since or less. Their strong, home-loving tendencies, affection for kindred, and general tenderness probably account, to some extent, for this mild phase of character. The Burgher is not martial nor given to fighting; nothing has yet occurred in the history of Ceylon to call forth such qualities. Save by invasion, unless he leaves his country, the Burgher is never likely to have an idea of what war means, in its present and most terrible form. There is a virulent side to the Burgher character, it must be confessed, which finds vent in the use of foul words expressed in a Portuguese *patois*, and sometimes in anonymous letters. He loves to sip wine, and can repeat with

much glibness the arguments for moderate drinking ; as to habitual drunkenness, though it is not a habit, it is by no means unknown. To an Englishman who has witnessed this vice as it only can be seen in Christian England, the Burghers are a sober people. The Burgher reads novels, and is *au fait* with all that Dickens and Bulwer Lytton have written, whilst he swears by the *Saturday Review*. The library copy of this publication is much thumbed, and always engaged : consequently a large number of the members of the institution are amongst the regular subscribers to this journal. That paper's *nil admirari* style of criticism is speedily adopted, the more easily because it is negative, pulling down rather than building up. The consequence of a continual study of *Saturday Sadfluenceism*, as Mr. Peter Bayne once termed the teachings of this paper, (*Saturday Reviling* was John Bright's opinion of what it wrote), on the not too firmly balanced mind of the imperfectly educated Burgher, is not so satisfactory as to lead the friends of the community to view the operation with unmixed pleasure. It is a necessary consequence of the present miserably inadequate educational arrangements of the island that there should be more of veneer and polish than good, sound, solid, acquired learning, but for this the authorities are to blame. The conduct of the Government in this respect has been little short of culpable ; this, however, is not the place to adequately animadvert upon it. A few details from the Colombo Police Court for 1874 will show the general freedom from crime and wrong-doing of the Burghers. It should be premised that in Colombo at least one half of the Burgher population of Ceylon is congregated. Out of 11,600 persons charged with crime and misdemeanour 180 only were Burghers, while there were 113 Europeans summoned or in custody ; 5,010 persons were charged with assault : of these 90 were Burghers ;—of theft, 1,550 : Burghers 13 ;—and of drunkenness 574 : Burghers 12, while Europeans to the proportion of nearly three to one were arrested for this misdemeanour. When it is remembered that many of the Burghers are very poor, and are in debt, it is in the highest degree creditable to the community that only thirteen persons out of seven thousand should have been charged with theft ; less than .002 per thousand.

It is as a social force, as a medium of civilization, if the expression may be used without offence, that the Burgher element of the national life has been particularly fruitful for good. They have exhibited many of the advantages and peculiar privileges of intellectual and political life to the natives, in a way and manner which Englishmen could not have done, which would be absolutely impossible of performance by the high-caste of civil servants through whom, mainly, the affairs of Ceylon are admini-

nistered. One of the English civil servants said to the writer, not long since, when a great outcry had arisen from unthinking European planters because of one of their number had been imprisoned for tying up and beating a Chetty, "I look upon the civil servants as being the best friends and protectors the natives have." In a sense the civil servants may be protectors, but the Burghers have been more than that; they have been *helpers upwards*, and through them the natives have been brought into closer contact with Europeans and have been taught to bend their shoulders and take a share of the burden of social and municipal life. Unfortunately, there is yet a great gulf between Europeans and natives, even in Ceylon, of which country, however, Anglo-Indians say that, in this respect, it is half-a-century ahead of the Indian presidencies. In the discussion which took place in India in the autumn of 1875, on the subject of the Eurasian people, the *Madras Mail*, with that incisiveness and force which invariably marks its utterances, said:—

At present we seem to look on the Eurasians as untimely fruit, and as if India would be the better for a wholesale deportation of them; but we should fully recognize what the Eurasians are in this country. The ship, without ballast or with little ballast, sails steadily enough as long as the breeze is light and fair; let a storm spring up, then is she indeed in danger of foundering; and the Captain thinks remorsefully of the time when, in harbour, he could have had ballast for the asking. The Eurasians are a portion of the ballast of the ship *British India*, and woe betide the English Captain, Officers, and crew should they neglect that ballast! India's ballast is human, sprung from English sires, from England's soldiers, aye, and from her officers too in but too many cases, and it is this ballast that we must either allow to sink to the lowest level of the natives of the country, or banish to unaccustomed, and therefore unprofitable labour in a strange land. What though the Eurasians have sprung on their mother's side from the varied races of Hindustan, on the father's side at least they belong to, and have something in common with Europeans. Is it nothing to claim paternity from the English race? Is it nothing to claim paternity of a civilized, powerful Christian people?

Ballast, and vastly more beside, have the Burghers of Ceylon been to the country of their birth. The life of the late Sir Richard Morgan is loud-voiced and emphatic on this point. For many years Chief Law Adviser to the Crown, he became Acting Chief Justice, and, was offered the refusal of the permanent occupancy of that exalted post: his career is a striking instance of what sterling merit and hard work can attain unto, even in a Crown Colony, where the majority of executive officers of the first rank are sent from England; yet throughout and in it all he showed how it was possible to be the hearty friend of all the races in the land. The writer happened to be in the Supreme Court the day after Sir Richard's decease, when a tribute to his memory was paid by the other Judges. In the wide portico of the building he saw on the features of influential

and wealthy natives of different races tokens of deep-felt anguish, and listened to the most heart-broken testimonies to the departed man's worth as a guide, counsellor and friend. Before the native had finished his tribute to departed worth, the voices of Englishmen were heard in equally loud praise of the same qualities as those which had captivated the affections of Singhalese, Tamils and Moors alike, whilst those of his own race felt themselves most bereaved of all. The same evening at the funeral it is hard to say which of the five races in the island was the more largely represented at the open grave, to pay the last token of respect to the memory of a man who was pre-eminently a binder together of diverse races, having the blood of both the "stranger within the gates" and the "son of the soil" in his veins, and able to "put himself in the place" of each, that essential requisite of a peace-maker. Certainly, in the concluding words of "Enoch Arden," slightly varied :—

"The town had never looked upon a worthier burial."

This record of one man is but typical of the influence attainable by all the best among the Burghers. They have been and are a civilizing and leavening influence, which, instead of causing "degradation to an economic standard," has been an uplifting force to a higher social strata. Ceylon, as one of its characteristics, has a large number of small towns, where every one is known to his neighbour, and where any influence that has living power within it is calculated to TELL. In every such provincial centre are Burghers of the stamp referred to be found, though also there are undeniably exceptions, particularly where they are lawyers more anxious for fees than for the peaceable settlement of quarrels. On the whole, however, the tendency of their influence has been for the advancement of civilization, the spread of kindly feelings, the breaking down of race barriers, and the consolidation of British rule in such a way, that self-government and independence, peculiarly English qualities, have been transmitted throughout the body politic, until physical force, save that of the policeman, seems a superfluity. One proof of this drawing together of Burghers and natives is seen in the fact that the Burgher newspaper, the *Examiner*, looks upon itself as the champion of the natives, as well as of the class to which its Editor and conductors belong. Correspondence has recently found a place in its columns in which it was proposed that distinctive names,—such as Burgher, Singhalese, Tamil, &c.,—should be dropped, and the term Ceylonese be adopted by all. Intermarriages, it is argued, take place, and the sooner race-names drop from the lips, the better for the well-being of the whole community. Certain it is, that in miscegenation European physique and characteristics are not absorbed; whether they will

be eventually, there is not yet evidence enough to give a definite affirmative answer, and it would be rash to reply in the negative. In any case up to this point in their history, it may be claimed for the Eurasians of Ceylon, that they have greatly helped and aided that ingraft of Western civilization on their country, which England seems destined to be the means of injecting into the veins of the moribund life of the East, and thereby to cause its peoples to start into newness of life. Why it is that the Eurasians of India have not done similarly, this writer must leave Indian social philanthropists to say.

(2). *Politically.*—The Burghers of Ceylon have a history of which no enlightened nation of the West would need to be ashamed. It is true that for the inception of great reforms Englishmen were the chief instruments, and that in carrying them into action educated and patriotic natives rendered great assistance. Much praise should be given to both classes of helpers, but this is not the place for doing that. Whilst, however, the initiating hand has been mainly British, the material to work these reforms, to make them practicable, that they may not prove either abortious which lived only to reach the Statute Book and then died, or unworkable proposals which necessitated speedy withdrawal, has been for the greater part Burgher. Not merely has this class been the means by which improvements and changes were made workable, but widened ideas have dropped as good seed in productive soil, bringing forth no insignificant crop of self-reliant, earnest men, who have in a struggle for citizen rights, exhibited qualities which call for their being entrusted with yet further and fuller freedom. These qualities have been displayed in spite of a system which has denied to them nearly all political freedom, and augurs that very great good would result from giving them greater privileges entailing a corresponding measure of responsibility. If such things are done when limbs are swathed in swaddling clothes, what may not be anticipated when those limbs are loosed and the strength of an unbound man is free for exercise? England had worthy and patriotic sons before the First Reform Bill: she has had a much larger number since, and they have mostly come from a stratum in the population hitherto supposed to be incapable of yielding results that would compensate for the labour of working it.

One sign of political manhood is the determination of an individual or a class, when aspersed, to indignantly defend itself. This the Burghers of Ceylon displayed early in their history. It took more than a full generation from the time of the British occupation for this people to feel that they had the rights of free-born citizens, but once it was understood that rights and privileges were theirs, and who more tenacious than they to

maintain them inviolate? Attention has been drawn to the remarks made upon the Burghers by Lord Torrington. In spite of the great and abounding influence of Government in an oriental land, increased under the despotism of "Crown" rule, and altogether regardless as to how their action might tell upon their future career in the professions they were members of, the Burghers of Colombo refused to remain quiet under such a stigma. A public meeting was convened, resolutions passed, and a memorial sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which the rebutting passages appear. After reciting some of Lord Torrington's strongest remarks, the memorialists say:—"In one of his despatches to your Lordship the Burghers are described without the least necessity for the description, as, 'the half-bred descendants of the Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants.' Not ashamed of the condition in which some of your memorialists (for to many of the Burghers the offensive expression is inapplicable) have been placed by their Maker, still, surely, the unnecessary and ungracious allusion to the natural condition of some of your memorialists, which is implied by the term 'half-bred,' must be repugnant to the fine and manly feelings of Englishmen." Fully disproving the charge of having "kindled dissatisfaction," they proceed:—

"The Burghers, my Lord, form a large portion of the inhabitants of this island; some of them hold high and respectable offices under Government. Many are employed as clerks in the public offices; and there are others among them independent of Government, possessed of much property, in the security of which they are naturally interested. What interest, what 'selfish purpose,' can such men have, my Lord, to 'kindle dissatisfaction amongst the natives?' Other Governors have spoken of them in the highest terms of commendation; but it was left to Lord Torrington after so short a sojourn in the island, to traduce them."

The Burghers were, at the time they prepared this memorial, acting under the leadership of Englishmen, but when it is remembered that they were not insensible to that undue reverence for "the Raj" which is a melancholy fact of oriental life, inasmuch as that they, in a sense, were natives, the fact that they defied and braved the powers-that-be so manfully, is proof of capacity for the higher duties of citizenship, highly creditable to the community to which they belonged.

A political society, called "The Friends of Ceylon," had been established, and great courage was displayed in resisting what were felt to be infringements of citizen rights. Especially in regard to what stands out prominently in modern Ceylonese history as the "Verandahs Question," when the authorities tried to forcibly dispossess the people of alleged encroachments which the possessors could prove they had occupied "from time immemorial" (in the Law Courts' sense of the term), did they act with

great boldness. Defeated in the island, they carried their cause to the House of Commons, where the late Joseph Hume and Mr. Baillie championed their cause. A Select Committee followed, much evidence was taken, and from the vantage-ground then gained much indirect benefit has resulted.

Later on, when the Ceylon League was established, to throw off the great burden of military expenditure incurred for imperial purposes, and to reform the Legislative Council by adding to the number of unofficial members, none were more active or bold than certain Burgher members of the League. When, again, municipal institutions were established, the practical working of them fell principally into the hands of this class, and when Government officialism (which, unfortunately, is part and parcel of Ceylon municipal institutions, and, therefore, greatly detracts from possible usefulness) was not too strong, very good work was done, a due sense of responsibility being felt. The management of the Colombo Municipality, with a revenue much larger than that of some West India islands which have a Government and a Legislature to themselves, was in the hands of a Burgher gentleman, whose administrative action called forth much praise, and led to his being appointed Justice of the Peace for the island in recognition thereof. It is to a Burgher Queen's Advocate that the natives owe the great communal powers which were given them in 1871, when it was arranged that the ancient *Gansabharwa* (village councils and tribunals) should be revived. This gives to the *goyiya* (ryot) the exercise of powers, in the way of abating nuisances, such as gambling, cock-fighting, opium selling, &c., which is vainly pleaded for year by year in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfred Lawson, when his Permissive Bill is brought up for a second reading, which it has never yet obtained. Small Cause Courts, with trained presidents, assisted by assessors, under this ordinance, bring cheap and facile means for the settlement of disputes, within the reach of all.

Throughout the land the Burghers are the people most acquainted with the administration of the law and the conduct of Government, for they are most frequently the instruments employed in the carrying out of both. Natives, it is not to be denied, are employed in large numbers; but that employment, to a very great extent, takes the shape of headmenships, perpetuating the old authority which chiefs and others possessed under Kandyan Kings and Singhalese low-country monarchs. Themselves interpenetrated with European civilization, the Burghers, as has been said, are the interpreters of the everchanging, shifting English race—(statistics prove that the English population of Ceylon is changed every ten years)—to the people of the country, and are lifting

these latter to a higher level than the intermittent efforts of the strangers could do. To the native sensible of and desirous for advancement,—social and political, the remark may be made, “The Burghers ye have always with you: in and through and with them ye may walk forward.”

The Ceylon Legislative Council is composed of nine officials, aided by six unofficial members, nominated by the Governor. The present ruler, Sir William H. Gregory, when a vacancy takes place by the retirement of some of the unofficials, if it be they of the planting and mercantile communities, applies to the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce respectively, to nominate two or more gentlemen having the confidence of the members, for him to select a representative from. The Burghers and the natives have no such institution to which appeal could be made. Nevertheless when, in March of this year, the Burgher seat became vacant, so strongly was the political feeling of the class aroused that a keen contest between two gentlemen, informally nominated, took place, a public meeting was called, a majority obtained in favour of one of the candidates, and the Governor was so far amenable to this display of public feeling that he conferred the post upon the popularly chosen man. Even without free representative institutions the Burghers are a political power in the State, with independence of feeling and action which argues well for the due preservation of rights once acquired, so far as they are concerned, when self-government is granted to Ceylon, as granted it must be ere long.

III.

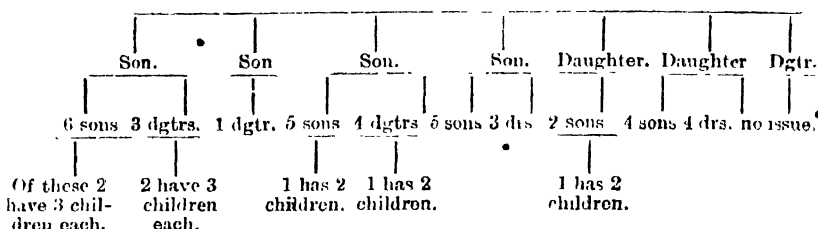
THE NUMBERS AND PRESENT POSITION OF THE BURGHERS.

Unfortunately, as has been already remarked, the full data are not available upon which an opinion might be founded as regards the acclimatization of Portuguese and Dutch in Ceylon, nor is the extent to which native blood has become mingled with the European venous and arterial fluid to be easily arrived at. Certain it is that the Burgher section is increasing in numbers. When the British made their first enumeration of the people, confessedly imperfect as regarded the natives, but nearly exact with respect to Europeans and European descendants, there were fewer than one thousand Dutch Burghers, and from four to five thousand Portuguese. This was in 1803. In 1846 there were nearly seven thousand; Dutch largely predominating, Portuguese becoming fewer. When the Census of 1871 was completed, it was found that multiplication of species had so progressed that the numbers were now nearly fifteen thousand. The figures of

1846 can scarcely be looked upon as trustworthy : otherwise there would be the very uncommon instance of a generation of years sufficing for the doubling of a section of the population. Yet this may have been, if the following facts, which have been courteously supplied to the writer, are applicable in a large measure, as they are said to be. How many of the marriages took place with educated natives, or whether all, of both sexes, were Burghers, the writer was not informed. Nevertheless the facts as they stand are interesting :—

A. B. died in 1860, aged 71, leaving four sons and three daughters. In 1876 the issue is as follows :—

A. B.



So that there are now living fifty-five souls descended from A. B., who was born in 1790.

M. N. is a man of about 50, and has a sister a year or two younger; he has *fifteen* children; four of these are married and have six, five, four, and three children each respectively. M. N. has been married thirty years. In addition to his fifteen children there are eighteen grand-children, a progeny of thirty-three in less than so many years. One good old lady has been heard to boast that she has four grand-children presented to her every year. Again of the E. F. family, there are alive sixty-four souls, descendants of one man, who settled in Ceylon early in the present century it is believed.

To a larger extent, in the period from 1846 to 1876, than from 1796 to 1846, the Burgher ranks have been recruited by a contingent which, for identification sake, has already, in this paper, been termed Anglo-Asian. The number of Englishmen in the Colony has been large, until within recent years, very few, save in the towns were married to Englishwomen. The consequence is obvious. It is a mere guess which places the fruit of these unions at from seven hundred to a thousand souls, but the guess is not altogether empirical. Even with this allowance it will be seen that the Dutch Burghers are so far prolific that there is no present fear of the race dying out, espe

cially as it is likely to be largely recruited by the natives, and to a somewhat slighter extent by Europeans.

The Census Returns, in which, of course, the description of an individual's nationality is given by himself, exhibit the Burgher class as made up of many diverse elements, as will appear from the following summarised table :—

	Males	Fms.	Total.		Males	Fms.	Total.
Anglo-Indian	0	2	2	Half-Caste	14	8	22
Burgher	3028	2743	5771	Indo-Briton	29	28	57
Ceylonese	79	97	176	Indo-Dutch	2	0	2
Dutch	4078	1178	2256	Indo-Portuguese ...	2	1	3
Dutch descendants	390	393	783	Irish descendants ...	4	7	11
East Indian	13	22	65	Polish do. ...	1	0	1
English descendants	43	40	83	Portuguese.....	630	599	1229
Eurasian	1736	1695	3431	Portuguese descen-			
Euro-African	0	1	1	dants	31	29	60
European descen-				Prussian do. ...	2	0	2
dants	84	83	167	Scotch do. ...	2	2	4
French do. ...	13	16	29				
German do. ...	17	7	24				
Goanese	2	0	2				
					7238	6951	14581

Evidently, if the statement of Cordiner can be relied upon that there were from 4,000 to 5,000 "Portuguese" in Ceylon soon after the Dutch capitulation, there can be no doubt this class is dying out ; that, too, very fast, and as a separate people should soon be unknown. It may be that they are being absorbed into the Singhalese race, but certainly personal observation of the large families some of them have, and other circumstances, would lead to the opinion that "rigour and vigour" have not yet left them. As a rule the Burghers generally are not robust, and a great many of the young men grow up narrow chested and consumptive, and die before reaching their twenty-third year, whilst others are very fine specimens of the *genus homo*. The best amongst them, however, easily succumb to fever, not in a sickness unto death, but sufficient to lead to enforced idleness for a short period ; while it does not seem to require much extra-exertion to induce a complaint of "side-pain," which is an excuse for absence from work which they share with the natives ; this complaint, it is said, is attributable to enlargement of the spleen.

As has been already remarked the Government service contains the largest number of Burghers. Sir Henry Ward, Governor of Ceylon, 1855-60, said of them that they were "the brazen wheels which, hidden from sight, kept the golden hands of Government in motion," an apt simile, and as often quoted by them as in the remark respecting the coffee planters alluded to by Europeans, *viz.*, that they are "the backbone of the prosperity of the island." Others as Advocates and Proctors and in corresponding social positions, rise to competence, though not often to affluence.

Government employ is, to the educated Burgher, almost what the Army and Navy, and the Established Church are to the scions of "good families" in England, whose hands must not be soiled with manual toil. It casts a glamour over them to a degree which Colonial Englishmen cannot always understand: these have been much puzzled lately at seeing a Burgher of great attainments, leader of the Supreme Court Bar, give up his high unofficial position to become Deputy Queen's Advocate for the island. It must be confessed the Burghers are often unfairly condemned on account of a *penchant* for Government and clerical service generally. If, with half-a-dozen other careers open before them, they nevertheless manifested this preference, cause for censure would exist. But, in Ceylon, no other career is to be found, save the medical, and their high position in it has been described. There are no manufactories for the uneducated and poor to earn daily wages from, and to find employment for the educated in higher directing spheres, as foremen, &c. Would the Burghers go into trade? They have to face keen competition from the shop-keeping and itinerant Moor and Hindu traders. Would they strive to succeed as merchants? The British, with command of more capital and with home connections, shut them out on the one side, while the Chetty, dealing in rice and Manchester cotton goods, one of a large confraternity, settled on the Indian coast, whose individual expenses are almost *nil*, crowds the Burgher altogether out of the field. They cannot even become large land-owners and tillers of the soil, because the land in the low-country is mainly in the hands of natives, the law of inheritance being such that the soil and its produce are often infinitesimally divided.* Consequently, it may be said, without any disrespect or implying censure of any kind upon the Burghers, that this state of things has caused the development of a class of human beings exactly fitted for such duties as have been described as specially affected by them. Nature is not wasteful of her gifts, and does not endow her children with qualities they are never likely to call into active exercise. She adapts means to ends. The energetic Englishman finds the type, superinduced by circumstances just detailed, very defective, and so it is from his stand-point. But he himself only represents one phase of life; that exhibited by the Burghers of Ceylon is another, equally necessary to

* The law of inheritance in Ceylon is the Roman Dutch law, which gives the children, in the event of there being no will, an equal share in the property. So, if Appubami (a Singhalese man) is entitled to the planting share, i.e., half of one Jack-tree,

his four sons and three daughters each get one-seventh of half, i.e., one fourteenth of a Jack-tree. This is no fancy sketch. The records of any district Court in the island would give many illustrative incidents.

round off a complete state of society, and particularly adapted to the requirements of the social life of which they form a part. All that is wanted is that there should be woven into the incontestably intellectual, kindly, social nature of the Burgher the threads of persistency and perseverance, which bind together and make, with the other threads, a texture useful for sustained and prolonged usefulness as well as for daily wear. One could not honestly say of them, without many deductions, what the dying Sheikh-Patriarch in Egypt said, prophetically, of his eldest son, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel," but, unfortunately, instability is one of the defects, perhaps the greatest defect of character, which has to be mourned over by the sincerest friends of the Burghers.

Generally prosperous, though seldom realising wealth, there is nevertheless not a little poverty and suffering amongst them. Cases of distress are to be found through want of employment and so on, but not greater than exists in an ordinary town in England. There is no poor-law by virtue of which the poverty-stricken may "demand" relief as in Great Britain, no workhouse for orphaned children, and it often happens that a struggling clerk or compositor, with a rising family of his own, will take over, support, and set agoing in the world, the family of a deceased brother or sister. In 1869 the Friend-in-Need Society of Colombo had on its books, either as permanent or temporary recipients of relief, 87 Burghers, out of a total of 382 to whom assistance was granted. In 1875, 140 Burghers were relieved out of 494 recipients, which shows that whilst the total distress had only increased 25 per cent., the distress amongst the Burghers was 75 per cent. greater than it was seven years previously. This, however, partly finds explanation in the dullness of trade in 1875, owing to a short coffee crop and the failure of several mercantile houses connected with those London firms which Messrs. Alex. Collie and Co. brought down with a rush. The amounts which are paid by the Friend-in-Need Society barely suffice to keep body and soul together, ranging as they do from Rs. 1-2 to Rs. 3-12 per mensem, with as a maximum to a European widow, Rs. 7-8. The number of children under twelve years of age dependent upon parents receiving these pittance, is about 190. Here it is that the Government, especially a paternal one like that in Ceylon, should step in and prevent further degradation. Were there free and representative institutions in the island the people themselves might be depended upon to take the necessary action. That action should be in the form of a Central Industrial Training School, of the kind similar to those the (English) Local Government Board have in large numbers in the Metropolitan district, and to which children should be

compelled to go, their widowed mothers being still relieved as now by voluntary contributions, which would not be lacking. Detailed description of the work to be done by such an institution cannot be given here, owing to the exigencies of space, but it may be stated that one such large Training School at Colombo would suffice for the accommodation of the destitute children of all races in the island, at present within the scope of relief given by the various Friend-in-Need Societies. Only by Government can such a project be successfully initiated, and the comparatively small expenditure could be easily raised by an absurdly light tax on the produce of absentee and other proprietors, which is now shipped untaxed from the island, and from the proceeds of which they live in comfort in Europe or in Ceylon. As regards the Burghers generally, the supply of labour of the kind they are most fitted for has not outstripped the demand, nor is it likely to do so yet awhile, in view of the increasing commercial prosperity of the island. Certainly public meetings do not have to be called in the island as they have been in Calcutta, Madras, and Allahabad, to enquire what shall be done for our "poor whites." The Eurasian of the large cities of India, living in the native bazaars, and degrading the European character in the eyes of the natives, if not altogether, is comparatively, unknown in Ceylon. Drunken and "loafing" Englishmen, a few here and there, do the work of degradation in Ceylon more effectually. Neither in the questions asked nor the pictures drawn by the *South India Post* (April, 1875) in the following extract are such as the Ceylon public are unduly familiar with; when such sights are witnessed it is only with regard to Portuguese Mechanics, and a few others some of whom are dependents upon the Friend-in-Need Society, the remedy for which state of things has been already alluded to. The *South India Post* says :—

What then is the young Anglo-Indian lad of respectable parentage but limited means to do? Every day the crowds of young men who hang about our streets, and swarm to every place where there is a vacancy of ever so humble a description; who inundate the higher classes of officials, merchants, coffee planters and other heads of offices, with petitions for employment—every day this crowd of idlers in all our presidencies and large towns is increasing, and these young men, many of them carefully educated, and respectably brought up, instead of growing up useful members of society are—be the fact disguised as it may—fast drifting downward to ruin. They are daily to be met with in all the various stages of that poverty which is the sure offspring of idleness—from shabby genteel, to shoeless out-at-elbows tatterdom—some with only the half-scared downcast look which betokens the earlier stages of a hard struggle for life; others who have passed through successive downward steps until their clothes have become threadbare and hang loosely on the enfeebled frame of premature old age; others again with the gaunt, hang-dog, starved appearance of utter destitution, when hope, respectability and energy all have fled, and the unfortunate outcast slouches along, lost alike to shame and sorrow—bearing as it were the mark of Cain.—

with only the bitterest feelings of hatred against his more fortunate fellowmen to feed upon and sustain him.

Christians (Protestants and Romanists) in faith, fairly assiduous in their attendance on public worship and in their practice of Christian virtues; as citizens law-abiding; as members of the general community not defrauded of their share of gain for labour performed; treated by honourable and high-minded Englishmen as equals, the Burghers of Ceylon are a source of safety to the nation, and, when better understood and more generously trusted, are likely to become still more powerful for good than they have hitherto been.

IV.

THE FUTURE OF THE BURGHERS.

We have already considered, incidentally, and to some extent answered in the negative, the question, "Will the Burgher race in Ceylon die out?" Were the Dutch families intermarrying only among people who had come from Holland and their descendants unmarried to natives, but marrying entirely among themselves, the question of the acclimatization of the European race in India, and its possibility or impossibility might arise. As it is the Burghers will, probably not prove to be the class from whose experience the question will receive confirmation or disproof. So much have they become identified with the natives that marriages with the latter have largely taken place and are likely to increase: vigour will be introduced into the race on that side, whilst from another quarter European energy and force is imparted. Many Burgher young men, educated in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, have taken to themselves bonnie Scotch lasses for wives, and have strong, healthy families. Europeans employed on railways and elsewhere, and even those in higher stations, marry Burgher or native women, and scarcely a case has come within the cognizance of the writer where such a marriage has been unhappy, or whence untoward results seem likely to flow. Generally law-abiding, steady, and often religious, these people would be a guarantee for moral order and the up-holding of British rule, were it not that the natives of Ceylon are so thoroughly identified with their English rulers and the English race that they would neither desire to see them depart from the island, nor would they raise a hand to speed them forth. Consequently, the "poor white" question in Ceylon is robbed of those political perils which make it such a menace to the British occupation of India.

Circumstances which have recently occurred would seem to

indicate that longevity is not to be a characteristic of the class ; but this conclusion seems mocked and robbed of its significance in face of the fact of many aged Burghers being still alive. Looking at the careers of the most notable amongst them, it would seem as if the brilliant talents which marked their early years sufficed to push them rapidly to the front, adding lustre upon lustre to the achievements recorded until the fortieth or fiftieth year was reached, just when Englishmen are in their prime, when they suddenly collapsed and passed away,—exhibiting, not complete and rounded-off lives, but magnificent careers cut short ere promise had ripened into fulfilment. Unlike many English political and professional men they do not out-live their public lives and exist upon the memories of a past, but, dying in the full possession of their powers the gap they leave is the greater, and the more splendid do their achievements seem in the eyes of their countrymen. Perhaps the ablest Ceylonese of his generation was Mr. Charles A. Lorenz, Prussian on his grandfather's side, and he died at the early age of 42 years, after exhibiting magnificent powers. James Stewart, Scotch paternally, had he been spared beyond his 31st year, would have done great things in the Government service, for he already stood on the highest steps of the legal ladder of local fame. Sir Richard Morgan, first of Her Majesty's Eurasian subjects to be knighted, only recently died at the age of fifty-four. His was a life rich in earnest endeavour ; Smiles's ' Self-Help ' does not tell of many Englishmen whose lives are more worthy of imitation than was Richard Morgan's. Left fatherless in infantile years, he worked his way upwards, through a bold vigorous early manhood spent in battling with authorities alien to the country, and intent mainly upon their own aggrandisement, to the chief seat of justice and a place among the Knights of the British Empire. Others there are who have not died, but they have been withdrawn from the conflict of life, the delicate and subtle machinery of the mind giving way. It would not be proper to reason from the few conspicuous cases of early decease, to some of which prominence has been given, that the Burgher race is likely to be a short-lived one : particular causes have intervened here which would not apply generally, and many cases might be cited on the other side, showing great longevity. It is urged that the reason for these early deaths is easily explainable. One man living the lives and doing the work of two or three men, cannot expect to exist long in a tropical climate. The zeal of the individuals mentioned was so great that they forgot what they owed to themselves and to their families, and worked themselves to death.

The stratum from which such men as those who have been named were produced is not yet worked out, and the widening

necessities of the times demand that a succession of such should be fostered if the position of the race is to be maintained. To this end there is scope for the exercise of effort on the part of the authorities. It is not desired, for one moment, that this class should be pampered at the expense of any other section, or the whole of the community. What is demanded for them is sought for all, and in a fair field, with Tamil, Singhalese, and Moorman, they have no need to fear. As regards education, in which in a country like Ceylon, the initiative must rest with the Government, nothing whatever has been done to provide teaching one whit in advance of that which was taught in an English grammar school at the beginning of the present century, when science instead of being widely diffused and honoured as it is now, was being barely tolerated in Franklin, and shamefully persecuted in the person of Priestley. The consequence of this lack of suitable teaching, is that in the higher branches of the scientific departments Burghers are conspicuous by their absence. And it is only in these departments that there is any lack of them. This cannot arise from the absence of faculties likely to respond to such tuition as is required, for in acquisition of medical knowledge and legal lore, demanding close attention and application, they yield place to their European compeers only in extent and value of practice, and that owing to prejudice. The faculties for good and exact work are there; they only want calling into action. The contest for the Burgher seat in the Legislative Council, to which allusion has been made, was signalized by the publication of a political cartoon, by the Burgher newspaper, the *Examiner*, which in the exactness of the human features and the happiness of the idea depicted, was surpassed by none of "Caro's" most successful drawings on the stone, when that artist brought short-lived popularity to the *Indian Figaro*, and laid bare the working, and exhibited to all India the *personnel* of the Baroda Court. Further, previous sketches by the same artist received high commendation from the (London), *Athenæum*. In the broadening social and mercantile life of the Colony, ample scope would be found for the energies of the people in art and in strictly scientific pursuits, were the Government, of what is now one of the most prosperous colonies under British rule, alive to the duty it owes to the subjects it avowedly governs "paternally."

The reference to the "paternal" rule of Ceylon opens up a question far too large to be dealt with at the close of a paper like the present, but in regard to the future of the Burghers it is of vital and pressing interest. That question is—Whether or not the time has come when a representative Government should be established, and the people entrusted with the franchise. The writer thinks it has. Reasons in favour of this being conferred might

be multiplied.* We can now only look at some of the reasons in the aspect they bear to the class with whom we are now concerned. In an early number of this *Review*, we hope to be able to show the fitness of the natives for the franchise, and the good its conferment upon them would do; the advancement of the whole island, which would certainly follow. In his work on Representative Government, Mr. John Stuart Mill enumerates qualities which ought to be possessed by those to whom the franchise is to be entrusted. Every one of them finds a place in the Burgher character, individually or collectively, and if voting power and governing scope were granted, would lead to such an upliftment of the national life as would ensure prosperity to the country. Purely native and Burgher interests have not been so intelligently considered in the Legislature as they might and ought to have been, to make sure of the prosperity of "sons of the soil" proceeding side by side with that of the colonist European, merchant and planter, which has been great. Without neglecting large mercantile and planting interests, the claims of the people of the country might be considered and acknowledged, enriching the national life by the increased manliness given to the individual; the opening-up of hitherto neglected and peculiarly native parts of the country; putting upon every man's shoulder a share of the burden of government, and arousing an interest in what is going on in the country. Even on the lower principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny," the franchise should be granted for every able-bodied man in Ceylon between the ages of sixteen and sixty,—soldiers, immigrant coolies, and Buddhist priests alone excepted,—the villager as well as the resident in towns, ryot and artisan, merchant and clerk, pay a direct tax for the up-keep of roads every year. Direct taxation, in the shape of the income tax, was swept away in India because of the tumult and discontent it caused: in Ceylon the commonest cooly pays his annual quota in hard cash, representing four days' labour, and no disturbance is ever thought of. One great wrong connected with this system is that the man whose salary is Rs. 20,000 per annum, and who probably possesses two or three carriages pays no more, but exactly the same, as his cooly, to whom he pays Rs. 10 per mensem, and who is innocent of any means of locomotion save by his own feet. •

An eminently conservative project would be the conferment

* The word "conferred" may sound strangely to Anglo-Indian ears in such a connection, but it is not inappropriate; for in the chief arena of politics, the Legislative Council, by clause XXIII of Her Majesty's Instructions, the members are absolutely prohibited from opening their lips in that Chamber on the subject of the constitution of the government.

of the franchise upon the Burghers and natives (in common with British colonists) as it would place a certain measure of power in the hands of those whose home the country is, and whose lives are to be spent within its borders. The coffee enterprise is often brought forward as an illustration of the great good European capital and enterprise have done to the country. Undoubtedly it has been of immense benefit, but the indirect good it has conferred upon the natives is not the only light in which the subject should be looked at. The enterprise was not undertaken for the benefit of the people of the land, but for the enrichment of the colonist. Consequently, though the people have received a great deal of benefit from coffee planting, that pursuit also represents a great deal of wealth taken from the island to help to enrich another country, *viz.*, England. The number of *absentee landlords*, all living in comfort, some in affluence, in other lands, and directly contributing nothing to the revenues of the country, is a matter which demands some attention from the authorities. If the incomes of non-residents could be taxed, and the proceeds applied to the elevation of the natives, educationally or otherwise, it would be only fair. The number of coffee estates owned by people wholly residing in England, and the shares held in Companies paying a large dividend out of the produce drawn from the island, are very great indeed. An approximation could be given, but as it would not be absolutely correct, it had better be withheld. The main object (and no great shame to them in one sense !) of English merchants, planters, and Civil Servants in Ceylon is to make money to be enjoyed at leisure in (to them) a better land. Some few there are who have made the island their permanent home and have identified themselves with its fortunes, but they bear no quotable ratio to those who strive to lay up to themselves treasure to scatter elsewhere. Only in so far as the progress of the island means their particular advantage, can they naturally be expected to take an interest in its advancement. Let there come a time of adversity, and they, so far as they were able, would withdraw to more lucrative scenes of traffic and labour. With the Burghers as with the natives it is far otherwise,—Ceylon is their home, and through good report and evil report they must remain in the land. Possessing, as we have seen that they do, public spirit and a desire for enlightenment, and bearing in mind the fact that with Representative Institutions the island would still be a part of the British Empire; that Englishmen would have a large share in its administration; that British trade would necessarily expand because it would be increasingly profitable; that the hill-sides of the mountainous interior would continue to be cultivated with coffee, tea, and chinchona, occupations peculiarly suited to the active Briton; surely it would be

but wisdom on the part of the chief island officials, and those members of the Colonial Office in Downing Street who virtually govern (sometimes mis-govern) the colony from a distance of six thousand miles, to relax their hold of power and share some portion of it with those whose stake in the country and whose intelligence would guarantee their right and proper use of it. This, from a strictly utilitarian point of view, and leaving out of consideration the right of duly qualified British subjects to self-governing institutions.

These granted, a nobler generation than the present would necessarily arise. The Reform Bill of 1832, rendering possible Abolition of Corn Laws, Repeal of Navigation Laws, experiments in improved tilling of the soil, and a national system of education, has widened the horizon of the average Englishman's life, and rendered the attainment of a higher ideal, not only possible and reliable, but actually and already possessed, by the lower orders of the English population. Precisely the same results would follow from the adoption of a similar course in regard to the people of Ceylon. Ceylon is becoming Anglicized at a greater rapidity and to a much larger extent than many people imagine. "How very English!" was the remark frequently on the lips of members of the suite of the Prince of Wales on the occasion of the Royal visit to the island in December 1875. Especially was the forward state of the native population marked by Sir Bartle Frere, Bart, familiar with the more backward state of things in India. As allies of the British, always on the spot, and their influence persistently *telling* upon the natives in their close neighbourhood, it is the Burgher community who have been the main civilizing element. Referring to the refusal of the Government of India to do anything for the poor European and Eurasian community of India, as stated in the letter of Mr. Howell, dated 15th April 1875, the *Madras Mail* says:—"The 'poor white' is loosening our hold upon India." As strong a link as any in the chain that binds Ceylon to England is a precisely similar class which, across the "silver streak," partly spanned by Adam's bridge, is looked upon as a source of much weakness. What has been proved to be practicable in the one country is surely not unattainable in the other. Not, perhaps, exactly in the same way, for the circumstances of continent and island, mild despotism and *quasi* freedom, are vastly different, but in some way or other, surely the reproach of the "poor white" difficulty may be removed from the path of India's progress.

So far forward has the Burgher community of Ceylon pressed that they have more than the foundations of a national life of their own, and have not altogether to rely upon the incitements of English biography to stir them up to deeds of patience and of

social "derring do." This is a great step for any people, and particularly so for such a community as this. The example of well-doing in the face of great obstacles, of successful passing through great shoals of difficulty, stirs the blood of the ardent youth whomsoever may be the hero whose deeds are contemplated, and whatsoever land may claim the hero as its own. But blood is thicker than aught else. To the French boy Napoleon's devotion to *la gloire* is infinitely more spirit-stirring and potent than Wellington's deification of duty, so fully and fearlessly carried out, that

"Whatever record leaped to light
He never could be shamed."

Similarly, the English lad will never think so much of, nor be so strongly impressed by, M. de Lesseps wedding Eastern and Western seas, as he will gloat over and try to imitate the persevering qualities of Richard Arkwright and George Stephenson. So, again, all these combined will be as nothing to the Ceylonese lad,—whether Burgher, Tamil, Singhalese, Moorman, or Malay,—as will a record of the way in which one whom they had gazed upon "struggled upwards," not amongst difficulties to which they are strangers, but face to face with the same sort of trials as those which are now testing their young efforts and checking their hopeful aspirations. On the bead-roll of those who have "ceased from their labours" among the mixed races of Ceylon there are those who "being dead yet speak" in strains which only need collecting and harmonising with loving sympathy to make a music that shall prove a charm against evil indolence—the great vice of the East—and call to nobler life of citizen duty. The elements for this exist, but they have not yet been manipulated: may they soon be.

As an uplifting and civilizing force the Burghers of Ceylon have been referred to. There is one aspect of their influence, in possibly far-reaching, which may not unworthily detain us for a moment. Mr. Grant Duff, in his "Notes of an Indian Journey," expresses his opinion that the English language is to become the common tongue of Hindustan. With one tongue, and that the English, will there also be a merging of the Indian past into the English past, an absorption of Hindu and Muhammadan national life and history into English history and British stored-up experience? Such a thing has occurred in the United States and elsewhere, in places where the Anglo-Saxon race has proved itself so strong as to assimilate other nationalities without losing its own peculiarities or becoming degraded in the operation. This fact is well brought out in the following extract:—

In addition to the great advantages above mentioned, our race has another peculiar to itself—so peculiar, indeed, as to be a phenomenon in history—it has the power of swelling its numbers faster than by its own

natural increase, yet by entirely peaceful processes, at the expense of other races. In the United States the children and grand-children of Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Swedes are not a foreign element in the population ; in the third generation, indeed, they have not the slightest connection or association with the foreign element. If they speak the language of their grandfathers at all, they speak it with an English accent. Their sympathies, prejudices, and principles go with the language to which they are born. They become citizens, and valuable citizens of the English-speaking world ; they regard the countrymen of their own forefathers as foreigners, they talk of themselves as " Anglo-Saxons," and they study the history of England as the laud of their ancestors. This last is an almost ludicrous fact, on paper, but it is the literal truth. This curious power which our race happens to have of swelling its own numbers by depleting other races is at work also, to a certain extent, in all the huge provinces of the British Empire, as well as in the United States. In all parts of the world the process is likely to continue with increasing activity for many years to come, as the prestige of the race advances and its resources develop.*

It may be argued that the case of the United States, with its originally large English population, bears no analogy to that of India, where Europeans are, among its many peoples, but like scattered snow-flakes on a vast mountain slope. True ; yet in Ceylon, not altogether unlike India, what is described as having happened in the United States, is occurring there also. The English colonists are but few, yet the Burghers first, and the natives close behind them, even now consider England as their home. The large majority of Dutch Burghers in the island count themselves as Britons, and when their means permit of a trip to Europe,—England, and not Holland, is looked upon as the chief country which they will visit. They think as English subjects, and regard English institutions as their institutions. Queen Victoria is their Queen, and the English Parliament their Parliament. The same thing is generally true of the mixed population of Mauritius and its French descendants, as it is also on a larger scale with the French Canadians. The native inhabitants of Ceylon, and of India also, have no literature of the kind necessary for the life which the exact sciences have rendered alone possible for those people who are to continue, and not melt away before the advance of the Western Aryan. This literature is being, and will continue to be, obtained by India from England. It yet remains to be seen whether, having drank at this fount, the people of India will not become, in all their tastes, wishes, desires, Englishmen. In Ceylon the process which can have no other end but this, is going on. The educated native, who is not a Christian, thinks the thoughts of John Stuart Mill, and talks the language of those Englishmen who boast that they have never felt the " need " of a higher than themselves to rest upon. Comparatively rapid is this change taking place in Ceylon, and in bringing it about the

* Letters of " An American " in the *Pall Mall Budget*.

Burghers are not to be counted as a small or unimportant factor. Further, the natives of Ceylon are brought into direct contact with Britons, through the increase of trade, and the wide extension of coffee, tea, and chinchona cultivation. Thus engaged (exclusive of military, but inclusive of women and children,—not a large proportion) there are between four and five thousand English, which is, to institute a comparison, as if in India there were nearly four hundred thousand unofficial English people, not wholly congregated in large cities, emporiums of trade, but scattered throughout every part of the continent, with, as allies, over a million Eurasians, generally of good character and with some degree of education. These remarks, however, merely play with the fringes of a great subject, and are suggested by the perusal of an article on a subject kindred to the one considered in this paper viz, “The Eurasian Future;”* they are, nevertheless, remarks which are warranted by the tendency of events as exhibited in the history of the Burghers of Ceylon.

• One word more: the facts gathered together in this paper exhibit a great anomaly, for they show that what in one land has been a source of weakness, is, within range of almost precisely the same influences, a “tower of strength.” There is no reason whatever why the Eurasians of India, instead of being degraded in the eyes of the natives, should not be to the Hindus of all races, “elder brethren,” guiding, helping, and uplifting. In Ceylon this has come about in the ordinary course of things. In India there has been neglect which must be atoned for, a certain degree of humiliation undergone, and not a little effort put forth before the higher plane shall be reached, whereafter may be left to the ordinary current of life to keep good that which has been made good. To accomplish this India needs not a few men amongst her highest officials, and many more amongst the lower-placed men in office, and in the unofficial community generally, whose bowels, in the first case, shall not be made of red-tape and move in sympathy only by routine; or in the other, who love the people of India more than a seat at the Board of Revenue and a large pension; or in the last mentioned case, those who prefer to aid their fellow-men more than to strive for the mere acquisition of wealth and early retirement to England. And, alas! India does not seem to have enough of them to solve the problem. Consequently and again alas! the problem is being left to find a solution for itself, which it is doing—in misery, pain, and sorrow.

WM. DIGBY.

* *The Eurasian Future.* By Surgeon Major W. J. Moore, L.R.C.P. No. XXXII, for January 1874. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. Indian Annals of Medical Science,

THE STORY OF EPAMINONDAS:—

As told by a Theban veteran in the winter of 338 B. C.

ROBED with keen terrors of the snow,
And wailing loud and shrill,
Fierce swoop the wild and wintry blasts
From old Cithæron hill.
Hushed are Ismenus' icy waves,
And Dirce's sleeping fount,
But thro' his dark pines roars to heaven
The fury-haunted Mount.

Even as yon wind-lashed oak my heart
Is desolate and bare,
So o'er my soul tumultuous sweeps
The death-dirge of Despair.
Low lies the high-towered City's strength,
Her sun-bright proud renown,
Since 'neath false Philip's baneful skill,
The Sacred Band went down.

Thro' the rich vale unmoved that day,
His course Cephissus wound,
Though like cut sheaves of ripened corn,
Our bravest strewed the ground.
But when before the stern spears' thrust
Our phalanx broke and fled,
I marvel great Polymnis' son
Awoke not from the dead.

Even as I breathe that name, I hear
The shout of triumph still,
The stormy splendours of the fight
Thro' all my being thrill.
Calm mid the tempest of the charge,
The victor-host's acclaim,
Ever I watched him—as he clomb
The thunder-peaks of Fame.

Luists, with that fiery dawn, for me,
The tramp of hurrying feet,
What time scarce-rescued Thebes streamed forth
The glorious Few to greet.

Chiefs of the daring soul, whose swords
Struck deep for Liberty ;
And all the surging Agora
Heaved like a troubled sea.

That day down-trodden Greece shook off
The Spartan's hated yoke,
The vassal city of the King
Bowed shuddering to the stroke.
But soon her bristling cloud of spears
Rushed northward fierce and fast,
And we, the wakeners of the storm,
Must face the battle-blast.

But brightening lustre o'er our path,
The peerless Leader flung,
Till to him ever, heart to heart,
And soul to soul, we clung.
Not his to flaunt the Tyrian robe,
Or press the bed of down,
True to himself, he wore his want,
As a crowned king wears his crown.

As mid the whirlwind of the fight,
His strong arm quelled the foe,
So swayed the fiery hearts of men,
His high oration's flow.
But even when girt for Fame's fierce race,
And straining toward the goal,
As waves beneath the moon, lay hushed
The passions of his soul.

Calm as a god I see him stand,
Unawed amid the gloom
Of wrathful Sparta, hot to hurl
Her thunderbolt of doom.
Lo ! where her lion-hearted King,
Stung thro' with baffled hate,
Leaps up—as Phœbus' shafts, struck home
His lightnings of debate.

Now, where rill-haunted Helicon
O'er-looks the mighty plain,
Fierce-swooping from the coast, the foe
Hath camp at Leuctra ta'en

And Terror thrilled the streets of Thebes,
And blanched was every lip,
For hard upon our hearts we felt
The Spartan's deadly grip.

'Tis when the tempest rages,
We know the Captain's skill,
Tis then the Master-mind flames out,
As a watch-fire crowns a hill.
And gazing on our Chief's bright eyes,
His brow serene and fair,
We felt our blood beat high, and burned
The battle-brunt to dare.

And with stern hands we grasped our spears,
And o'er the quaking field
Swift rushing, up the slope we charged,
And pressed them shield to shield.
As, swollen with wintry snows, a stream
Roars down a mountain-height,
On swept our serried ranks, and shook
The Spartan on the right.

And grimly straining onward,
We battled hand to hand,
Aye to the front Pelopidas
Led on the sacred band.
And fast and thick as Thracian hail,
The crashing death-blows ring,
Till from his last red field the foes
Bear back their stricken King.

So for bright Victory's wreath we changed
The cypress of Despair,
And proud our triumph-shout uprose,
And thrilled the summer air.
And like a Queen fair Thebes came forth,
And many a choral song
Burst from the happy crowds, who pressed
Her echoing shades along.

As falls beneath the woodman's axe
The forest-ruling oak,
Stern Sparta's ancient sway went down
Before that battle-stroke.
The haughty land of Pelops heaved,
As with an earthquake's might,
Girt with her mountain-crown of snows,
Arcadia soared to light.

Now for great deeds our Leader
 Hath southward set his face,
 And for the South our levies
 Are hurrying on apace.
 From where, of earthly vales the Queen,
 Thessalian Tempe smiles,
 From where divine Parnassus soars
 O'er Phocis' rough defiles.

The flower of all the North were there,
 High Chiefs of ancient name,
 As eagles sunward tower, they sought
 The splendour of his fame.
 Lo ! where, as if one soul flamed thro'
 The glittering thousands, wheel
 Bœotia's spearmen—glanced to heaven
 Their front of burnished steel.

Far o'er the watch-fires of our host,
 This haughty war-chant rolled,
 As South we marched, when woods were bright
 With Autumn's ruddy gold.
 ' Let Lacedæmon tremble !
 We conquer—or we fall
 With great Epaminondas,
 The foremost Chief of all.

Lo ! at his touch Messene
 Free from her dust up-springs,
 Flashes to life the fire that thrilled
 Her ancient hero-kings.

' Arcadia's sons, who, severed
 Thro' all the stormy Past,
 Have battled for the stranger,
 Shall clasp true hands at last.

' So high o'er shattered Sparta,
 Shall Thebes' fair Star illumine

The darkness of the ages,
 The years are ripe for doom.

' Soon o'er the tyrant City
 Shall burst the war-gale's breath,
 For great Epaminondas
 We follow to the death' !

So thro' the wave-washed belt we pressed,
 With swift exulting tread,
 We saw bright Corinth's Rock of fame,
 Tower cloudward over-head.

Deep-murmuring to the murmuring seas,
We saw the proud pines shake
And east and west, like steeds afoam,
The plunging billows break.

On thro' the pastoral land we sped,
Where all the glad year long,
O'er voices of the torrent soars
The shepherd's silver song ;
Where clasping all the stern hill-sides
The mighty forests frown,
And on his famed Arcadian vale,
Lycæus' Mount looks down.

Ne'er since the Dorians ended
Their high victorious toil,
Hath foreign foeman dared to tread
Laconia's sacred soil.
Ne'er hath the Spartan matron
Watched the red flames leap out,
Ne'er burst on her indignant heart
The vengeful battle-shout.

Now thro' Eurotas' valley
Deep sounds the warrior-tramp,
Clear o'er Eurotas' banks glance forth
The watch-fires of a camp.
And swift, and lowering fierce, as when
The blown surf foams afar,
Right up to Sparta's streets roll on
The surging crests of war.

Shrill thro' her frowning barrier-cliffs
Rang out our host's acclaim,
And far to south we swept, as sweeps
The tempest-driven flame.
Then northward thro' the shaking land
Right terribly we past,
Ne'er shall Laconia's glades forget
The Theban battle-blast.

Now reddening o'er Arcadian peaks
The patriot dawn-blush glows,
And fairer smiles the tower-crowned vale,*
More bright Alphæus flows.

* An allusion to the foundation of Megalopolis.

And lo ! some radiant God hath touched
 Messene's death-like rest,
 Soars o'er her templed slopes to heaven,
 Ithome's stately crest.

Thus, doubling stroke on stroke , we laid
 Greece-shadowing Sparta low,
 And placed the laurel-wreath supreme
 On Thebes' imperial brow.
 And o'er the rival states her Star
 With conquering lustre shone,
 Far from Asopus' flowery banks,
 And slopes of Helicon.

Wave-like, the stirring years fleet past,
 And now the thunder-cry
 Of a flying host peals out for help,
 From plains of Thessaly.
 Now, mightier from that famed retreat,
 He speeds resistless forth,
 Yield up the Hero and the Friend,
 O Despot of the North !

Thessalian streams shall mourn him yet,
 The Hero and the Friend,*
 And did we save thee, O our Chief,
 But for that bitter end ?
 And shall that eagle-glance no more
 The clashing squadrons scan,
 No more the unconquerable sword
 Flash foremost in the van ?

But o'er Arcadian mountain-steeps,
 The war-cloud settles red,
 For us the glint of levelled spears,
 Peace for the mighty dead.
 Fallen is the Chief—but Him we hold,—
 The victor-leader still,
 Soon shall that heaving sea lie calm,
 Before that Master-will !

So, all on fire for Southern war,
 Our ranks embattled shone,
 We would have stormed the gates of Death,
 With Him to lead us on ;

* Pelopidas.

We saw the wild Mænalian peaks
On old Tegæa frown,
And stern and silent thro' the night,
We swooped on Sparta down.
So by Eurotas' banks again,
The Theban war-shout rang,
Again o'er her proud city's streets,
Sounded the battle-clang.
Shuddering she shook—she might not fall—
Before our swift attack,
And northward for Tegæa's plain,
We swept reluctant back.
Then, watchful as a lion couched,
Within her walls we lay,
And as a lover for his bride,
Yearned for the battle-day.
Ah, those were days of heart and hope,
And spirit-stirring cheers,
And burnishing of corselets,
And sharpening of spears.
And, as the loneliest sea-cave feels
The mighty Ocean's roll,
Thrilled thro' the meanest of our host,
Our Leader's lofty soul.
So, burning for the onset,
And with high hopes clate,
And stern resolve, the flower of Thebes
Pressed thro' the northern gate.
Skirting the pine-crowned mountain-flank,
Those wheeling columns stream,
Till hard upon our van we saw
The foemen's armour gleam.
And lo ! their ranks are scattered
In careless disarray,
Foiled by our Captain's skill, they deem
We shall not close to-day.
Reinless and free the steed forgets
The fury of the charge,
Low lies the spear—all idly glance
The helmet and the targe.
Sudden and swift, thro' the black cloud's rift,
Flashes the lightning flame,
Sudden and swift, and fierce that day,
The Theban phalanx came.

As when some wind-vexed wave toward heaven
His crested strength uprears,
In all the might of deep-massed shields,
And thickly-bristling spears.

But for close fight the Spartan
Hath won Fame's loftiest wreath,
And in close fight the Spartan,
Falls smiling to the death.
And for a time all doubtful
The furious battle hung,
And hard on cuirass and on helm
The weighty broad-swords rung.

But where Thessalia's squadrons
Plunge headlong o'er the plain,
The thunder of the horsehoof's
Comes crashing on amain.
Till, inch by inch, reluctant
The Spartan backward drew,
And thro' their reeling ranks we rushed,
And cleft them thro' and thro'.

But ever mid the foremost towered
Our Leader's lordly crest,
As thro' the roaring battle-rout
Right furiously we prest.
What time the man-at-arms dashed on,
Red with the conflict-glow,
And the keen horseman's vengeful brand
Clove down the flying foe.

I saw the proud crest soar amid
The javelins' bitter rain,
I saw the proud crest droop and fall,
Never to soar again !
Ah, low the lofty tower that dared
The deadliest blast of war,
And quenched in blackest gloom the rays
Of that consummate Star !

Now thro' our victor-host like flame
The storm-swift tidings spread,
' Scathed by a mortal thrust, the Chief
Is hastening to the dead !'
And the stern hearts forgot their fire,
The stalwart arms their might,
The panting spearman vexed no more
The weary foeman's flight.

‘Dash down the cup of Fame,’ they cry,
‘Though sparkling to the brim,
Our country’s glory and our own,
They vanish all with him.
‘What care we *now* for world-wide sway,
Our hopes—our all, have flown,
Now that the gloomy Stygian King
Hath claimed him for his own !
I rushed to where the Leader lay,
The death-dew on his face,
The shades of utter Night on him,
Were closing in apace.
Still Master of the dauntless mien,
The voice of noble cheer,
But deep his flowing life-blood drank
The thrice-accursed spear.
We hailed him Lord supreme of this,
His mightiest stricken field,
We saw the dying eyes once more
Gaze proudly on the shield.
Flashed thro’ that last high glance once more
The unconquerable will,
And then the lofty spirit fled,
The heroic heart was still. •
We laid him in the sacred plain
Of glory and of gloom,
‘Ah, well we know the might of Thebes
Lay shrouded in that tomb !
And her sad People’s cry waxed loud
O’er temple, tower, and hall,
No son e’er wept his sire as they
The matchless Captain’s fall.

* * * * *

Now, e’er the welcome gale of Death
Shall whirl me too away,
I weave my chant of glories flown,
In Thebes declining day :
As, robed with terrors of the snow,
And wailing loud and shrill,
Fierce sweep the wild and wintry blasts
From old Cithæron hill.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Vignán Rahásya : Essays on Scientific Subjects, popularly treated.
By Bankim Chandra Chattopádhyaý. Bangadarsan Press : 1875.

FOR a long time Babu Bankim Chandra has been known to his countrymen as one of their best novelists, and as the successful Editor of a well-conducted Magazine; but they will no doubt be taken by surprise when they come to know that he now appears before them as a lecturer on Scientific Subjects—and the work before us bears ample testimony that he is well qualified for the task. It is a reprint of some of the scientific papers which appeared from time to time in the *Bangadarsan*, based chiefly on the researches of eminent European scholars, such as Huxley, Tyndall, &c.

The book under review contains papers on "The Great Solar Eruption," "Multitudes of Stars," "Aerostation," "Protoplasm," &c. couched in easy language, and is intended, as the author says, for the use of the general Bengali reader, the students of the higher classes in the Vernacular Schools; and last, though not least, the educated ladies of Bengal. From a careful perusal of the work, we are satisfied that, so far as it goes, the book is eminently adapted for the use of advanced students in the Vernacular Schools. But while quite willing to allow that Babu Bankim has spared no pains to make himself as explicit as he could, we are by no means sanguine of his success with the latter description of his readers, though it will not be his fault if he does not succeed. At the present stage of education in Bengal, the writer of a scientific treatise has to labour under various difficulties to make himself intelligible. On the one hand, the paucity of words in the vernacular obliges him to make use of (and not unfrequently *coin*), hard Sanskrit words to convey his meaning; on the other, owing to a primary defect in their training, his countrymen at large are unable to comprehend the subjects he treats of. We have as yet had very few readable, and at the same time popular, treatises on any branch of science in the Vernacular; so that however willing the Bengali public may be to do justice to Bankim Chandra, they can hardly be expected with their limited stock of knowledge, to feel any considerable amount of interest in a work which will cause them so much trouble to understand. Again, with all the vigorous efforts of Government, Female Edu-

cation is in a still more backward state in Bengal, and we have grave doubts whether the present work will be much valued by the Bengali ladies. On the whole, however, the book deserves success.

Udasini. Calcutta: Printed by Kali Kinkara Chakravarti at the Valmiki Press. Samvat, 1930.

WE make no apology to the reader for noticing this rather old publication. It is an excellent book, and we are only sorry that we did not notice it earlier. *Udasini* is a poetical romance. A traveller, losing his way at the solemn hour of midnight in the midst of a deep and gloomy forest, invokes the assistance of the Spirit of the woods. *Vanadevi*, the goddess of the forest, appears before him, and just then a piercing sound of lamentation is heard coming from a distance. *Vanadevi* and the traveller make a search and at last find a beautiful girl, all wild and disordered in her appearance, wailing before a flaming pyre. At the request of *Vanadevi*, the girl tells her story: "At the early age of fourteen, *Saralá* lost her father under circumstances of inconceivable want and misery. This event left her completely helpless. For she had no friend, protector or acquaintance either among men or among women, with the single exception of *Surendra*, a young man who had saved her from drowning on the day of her father's death, but who, alas, had disappeared after burning that father's corpse and kindling the burning passion in her own sacred heart. *Saralá* went to the king with the letter that her father had given her at the moment of his death. The king received her kindly and the queen became unto her a veritable mother. But the thought of *Surendra* rose ever and anon in her mind, and life became a torment in the midst of the comforts and luxuries of a palace. *Surendra*, however, saw her one day. Scaling the high wall which encircled the private garden of the palace, *Surendra* stole one interview with *Saralá*. That interview threatened to be their last; for *Surendra* was detected and ordered by the king to be slain. *Saralá* threw herself before the king's youthful son, who procured her lover's pardon by extorting from her a promise of marriage. *Surendra* renounced hope and this world and became an *Udasin*. As for *Saralá*, preparations for her marriage with the prince began to be made in a right regal style. She submitted indeed to the apparent demand of Destiny; but her heart was with and after *Surendra*. And the sight of some memorial verses engraved by the despondent lover on the bark of an *Asoka* tree in the private garden worked up her feelings into frenzy. *Saralá* leaped over the garden-wall and became an *Udasini*. In the course of her wanderings, she came

to the forest, where she now was, and found in one part of it the ring she had given to *Surendra*, a picture of herself in a gold box, and the bones of a human being. Yes, *Surendra* had lost his life, and *Saralá* must ascend the funeral pyre of him who had died for her. A violent storm now breaks forth, uprooting large trees, blowing out the fire in the funeral pile and scattering far and wide the very bones which had been collected by *Saralá* to receive the last sacred rite. *Vanadevi* succeeds in diverting *Saralá* from her fatal resolution, and promising her consolation and the fruition of her hopes, begins with her a long and trying pilgrimage to all those places in Hindustan which have been rendered sacred by worship, song and meditation. The pilgrims at last ascend the snowy Himalayas. They arrive at Gomukhi, the source of the Ganges. But the tender *Saralá*, who has borne and suffered more than the divinest love can bear or suffer, falls down senseless before the thundering waters of the sacred *Ganga*. At this moment *Vanadevi* and the traveller descried at a distance a venerable man standing rapt in wonder and meditation before the blended infinity of sky and snow. They hasten up to him, and exhorting him to look after the senseless *Saralá*, repair to the sacred fountain to bring water for her recovery. The venerable pilgrim is *Surendra*, who had been attacked by robbers in the forest, despoiled of the mementos of his love and saved by the accident of a tiger falling upon the robbers and killing one of them. The thrice happy lovers know each other. *Vanadevi* and the traveller return. But they are no longer what they have hitherto been. The former suddenly blossoms forth as it were into *Rati* the goddess, and the latter into *Madana* the god of love. At the invocation of *Rati* nymphs descend upon the snowy peak from the court of *Indra*. They form the nuptial circle around *Surendra* and *Saralá*; and with *Rati* acting the part of chief *Ayo*, and *Madana* that of the High Priest of matrimony, the holy knot is tied between the youthful lovers. Such, in short, is the story of the poem, and it is delivered with great vigour, great earnestness, great pathos and overwhelming eloquence. A strong, steady and enthusiastic hand is perceived throughout the narrative drawing a picture of deep and devoted love with immense vehemence and energy. And that picture is bright and bold in all its parts. For the passion it represents is no quietly working humour or soothing sentiment, but love worked up to frenzy under the appalling shadow of a ruthless destiny. The perspective reveals no gentle mixture of light and shade. It is all brightness, for the very shadow of Destiny—forming the background of the picture—is bright and scorching. And the moral conception of the poem is one of a most noble and elevated character. Arising out of an act of chivalrous valour

and generosity, the sacred passion grows in strength as time passes on. Separation serves only to intensify its power; and its purity and singleness of purpose make it proof against all temptations of rank and wealth. And then when Fate seems to frown upon it an eternal doom, it subjects itself to an awful ordeal of self-sacrifice and religious discipline. Victory cannot any longer withhold her laurel from the heroic Power. The god and goddess of love, aided by the nymphs of heaven, perform the glorious act of coronation upon sublime heights of the divine Himalaya. The last canto, where *Surendra* and *Saralá* are joined in wedlock, is the most beautiful in the poem and presents us with one of the happiest poetical efforts to typify the divine sanctity of the marriage tie. The whole scene is one of the finest flowers in the poetry of the human race.

But the poem is not without some grave defects. We will point out only three:—

1. *Saralá* wailing loudly before the funeral pyre of *Surendra* is a moral incongruity. The human mind in *Saralá's* awful state of determination to die knows no vocal utterance.

2. *Surendra* weeping at the place of execution is a moral infirmity. For, as the author's own motto from Wordsworth declares—

“There is a comfort in the strength of love;
It will make a thing endurable, which else
‘Would overset the brain, or break the heart.’”

3. Knowing that the king's son loves and wishes to marry her, *Saralá* appeals to him for *Surendra's* life and gains her end by giving the prince a promise which she does not and cannot fulfil. This is a low trick of which a person strong in the strength of a noble passion is literally incapable.

We have noticed this work at such length because it typifies the bias of the genuine Hindu mind for the adoption of a wandering life of asceticism upon the disappointment of fondly cherished hopes or the occurrence of great calamities. Such a tendency was sufficiently strong and active in Europe during the Roman Catholic régime, but is now almost unknown. And Goldsmith's “Edwin and Angelina” is perhaps the last note in English literature of the workings of that semi-religious and semi-secular spirit which had once filled whole convents and nunneries with the best of men and the best of women. In India, it would not perhaps be too much to say that there is not a single Hindu household devoid of the tradition of the renouncement of social life by some near or remote ancestor. And even now, when the religious spirit is so much on the decline, and faith has assumed all the stiffness of routine, cases of retirement from domestic life are far from infrequent.

A'shā-Kānana. By Hem Chandra Bandopadhaya, Calcutta : Ráy Press ; 1283, B. S.

THIS poem is an allegory. A person oppressed with the cares of life is walking on the sunny banks of the Dāmodara. The charms of the scenery around him lull him to sleep and he dreams a dream. In a romantic region resembling a garden-land, he meets a person of beautiful appearance, but of a restless mien, contemplating her face in a mirror. This person is Hope, who, being accosted, says that Indra, the King of the gods, had sent her to earth with a mirror which had the rare virtue of making all who beheld their faces in it immeasurably happy by extinguishing all sorrow and anxiety. Hope leads her visitor to a place within her garden-land called *Karma-kshettra* or the world of business. The place has the appearance of a city encompassed on all sides with walls of stone. It has six entrances guarded by as many sentinels. The first entrance is kept by *Sakti* (strength), the second by *Adāyavasāya* (perseverance), the third by *Sāhusa* (courage), the fourth by *Dhairya* (patience), the fifth by *Srama* (labor) and the sixth by *Utsāha* (zeal, ardour or encouragement). Entering this city, the visitor sees innumerable human beings variously engaged—some in discharging royal functions and some in offering adulation to royalty, some in exercising the art of war, some in caressing lovers and some in enjoying the chaste pleasures of domestic life ; some in distributing charity to hundreds of fellow-beings, some in lamenting their grievous lot, and so on. In one part of *Karma-kshettra* the visitor sees *Ratnodyana* or the garden of riches, wherein are countless human beings, all endeavouring to touch the trees, which, however, change their places as often and as quickly as attempts are made to reach them. And close to *Ratnodyana* stand the abodes of Ambition, where keen and heartless struggles for rank and power are eternally carried on. In the middle of *Karma-kshettra* the visitor finds *Yasa-Sāilā* or the hill of fame, which a few only succeed in ascending, though many make the attempt. The summits of this hill are crowned with golden lights and the atmosphere around it is full of fragrance and melody. Leaving *Karma-kshettra*, Hope leads her visitor to a region full of sylvan beauty. Beyond it flows a mighty river over which hangs *Parinayusetu* or the bridge of marriage. Human beings in couples traverse this bridge. Many are precipitated into the strong and boisterous current below ; but those who cross over to the opposite side enjoy the most fascinating delights in the chaste atmosphere of *Pranayodyana* or the garden of love. In the middle of this garden is a deep tank brimful of calm, clear and transparent water ; and on the bank of this tank stands a beautiful woman holding in her hand a vessel of gold with which she distributes water without measure to all who come

to her. This part of the garden is called the Bower of Affection and this tank the reservoir of maternal affection. Though drained through all ages, the water of this tank—sweeter than nectar itself—suffers no diminution. And near the Bower of Affection stands the house of consolation reared by the hand of Hope for all who are smitten in heart—the mother who has lost her child, the wife who has lost her husband, the son who has lost his father and his mother. At a little distance from this edifice, the visitor meets a saintly personage named *Viveka* or Wisdom, who denounces Hope as a vain and false seducer. Hope suddenly disappears and Wisdom leads the visitor through scenes of the most harrowing torture and agony—the wilderness of grief and the burning waste of despair. To grieve and to despair is, according to *Viveka*, the ultimate lot of all who *hope*. The sleeper awakes, returns home, and is again swallowed up in the great vortex of the world.

Asha-Kanana has many beauties and many defects. Some of the scenes through which the poet leads us are painted in the most appropriate colours. The garden of riches, the bower of affection, the bridge of marriage, the hill of fame,—all these are fair specimens of descriptive art, captivating the reader by a rich variety of colours, a soft mixture of light and shade, voluptuous sweetness, earnest tone, and a pleasing harmony and eloquence of expression. For luxuriance of beauty, for sweet sublimity, for effective imagery, for severity of power, Babu Hem Chandra's pictures of the garden of love, the hill of fame, the bower of affection, and the desert of despair have few parallels in the whole range of Bengali literature. Nor are his characters, both male and female, less remarkable. The images of the six sentinels holding the gates of *Karma-kshettra*, of love, wisdom, grief, and despair are all drawn with considerable power and skill. The poem also possesses many literary beauties. The style is easy though not always graceful or poetical; the metre light but vigorous; the diction chaste and simple.

But what we miss most in Hem Chandra's poetry is that fine appreciation of moral and intellectual beauty which is the truest characteristic of a superior poet. In *Asha-kanana*, beauty means *material* beauty—the beauty of sound, the beauty of form, the beauty of colour. The garden of love is beautiful, because there are in it beautiful trees, beautiful flowers, beautiful birds, and beautiful women. And woman's beauty in this garden of love is all of the body, naught of the mind. Fair complexion, gentle smile, fine waist, lotus-like eye, blooming cheek—these constitute woman's beauty in Hem Chandra's poetry. The finer, purer and more fascinating beauty, which the inward heart reflects upon the outward body, is not hers. Indeed, Hem Chandra's poetry is the

poetry of matter with only a slender substratum of superficial spirituality. He will feel the beauty of a smile, but fail to realise the beauty, the dignity, the holiness and the sublimity of a tear. He has a pencil for the eye which is 'killingly sweet,' but none for the eye which is angelically holy. The poet who conducts the involuntary steps of a care-worn and broken-hearted man towards the sunny banks of a beautiful river, cannot have high poetical intuitions or a profound perception of the secret affinities between the external world and the internal mind.

Babu Hem Chandra's conception of *Karma-kshettra* is, in our opinion, extremely unsound. We do not believe that one requires any special qualification in order simply to effect an *entrance* into the world of business. As a matter of fact, all sorts of persons, whether qualified for business or not, are found to enter this world. And neither nature nor society places any obstacle at the *entrance*. Patience, for instance, which is represented by the poet as keeping one of the gates, is not required for the purpose of effecting an entrance into the world of business, but for maintaining our ground *after* we have entered it. And then to describe human beings as attempting to enter *Karma-kshettra* through six different gates, failing to do so at some of these, and succeeding at others, is also erroneous. For success in practical life depends oftener and more generally upon the possession of most if not of all the qualities personified by our poet than upon that of any *one* of them. The most correct picture of *Karma-kshettra* would have been to represent it as completely open on all sides, to erect within it a succession of citadels or watch-towers leading up to the temple of Fame and held by Courage, Labour, and the other qualities in due order, and to represent human beings as working their way onward along the route lined with these citadels, but with different results—some proceeding quarter-way, some half-way and so on, till only a very small number remain to enter into the Temple of Fame. Babu Hem Chandra's introduction of lovers into *Karma-kshettra* is to us wholly inexplicable, except upon the present Bengali theory of the supreme importance of love-making as a practical affair.

The bereaved mother receiving consolation from Hope is a profoundly false idea. Hope has a comforting power for those who lose or fail to secure rank or wealth or fame. But it has no true and potent balsam for the mother's afflicted heart which acknowledges no power save that of undying Faith and eternal Time.

Jati-Mitra, Part I. By a Kaviranjana. Calcutta: Purana-prakasa Press; 1282, B. S.

THIS is a curious book on a very curious subject. We learn from it that, after about a century of English education and more than a century of English rule, the Hindu community

of Bengal is discussing caste questions with keen interest. The *Kayastha* class claims to be descended from the great *Kshattriya* race; but the *Vaidya* community, a mixed caste of which the writer of this treatise seems to be a member, cannot brook this high pretension and would fain have us believe that Kayasthas like themselves, are a mixed caste sprung from *Vaisya* fathers and *Sudra* mothers. Our advice to Hindu gentlemen is to prove themselves *Kshattriyas* in those manly virtues which have always characterised that noble race, and instead of regarding mixed origin as a social stigma, to make of it a justifying principle and a national warrant for a system of intermarriage between different castes and communities. The book has few literary merits.

History of the Hindu or Presidency College. By Raj Narayana Basu. Calcutta: Valmiki Press. Saka, 1797.

THIS is a very useful and interesting work from the pen of a veteran Bengali writer. We wish the work had been larger.

Gitavali. By the late Payari Mohana Kaviratna. Calcutta: Valmiki Press. Saka, 1798.

SOME of the songs in this book are really good. Many of them are sublime, many also are humorous. But some of them are vulgar, which the publisher, Babu Kali Kiukara Chakravarti, would have done well to omit.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Mandalay to Momien: A Narrative of the Two Expeditions to Western China, of 1868 and 1875, under Colonel Edward B. Sladen and Colonel Horace Browne. By John Anderson, M.D., Edinburgh, F.R.S.E., F.L.S., F.Z.S., Fellow of Calcutta University, Curator of Imperial Museum and Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Medical College, Calcutta; Medical and Scientific Officer to both Expeditions. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co., 1876.

THE possibility of opening up a trade-route between Burmah and China that may be available to British traders, is a question of very great importance in itself; and the subject has of late been invested with a peculiar interest by the repulse of the expedition of last year, the melancholy death of Margary that attended it, and the vengeance that is being exacted for that dastardly murder. Dr. Anderson's book has appeared at an opportune moment, and will undoubtedly command a larger audience than generally falls to the lot of oriental travellers. His delight

ful narrative, which is often quite thrilling in its interest, and is told in such a simple and unaffected style as to secure the sympathy of every reader, well deserves the popularity which it has already attained ; and we have no doubt that it will long continue a favourite with all those who love to read of the adventurous exploits of brave pioneers of civilization.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a compendious and popular account of the expedition of 1868, under Colonel Sladen, from Mandalay to Bhamo and thence to Momien, and back. The difficulties of the unknown road, the suspicious and not infrequent outrages of the wild Kakhyen tribes, the fierce though generally veiled political hostility on the side both of Burmah and of China, all combined to make the expedition one of the greatest danger ; and the account of these things is agreeably diversified by most interesting descriptions of the people, their customs, history, superstitions, &c., and by numerous little episodes of various kinds.

To the general reader perhaps the most interesting chapter is that on the Muhammadans of Yunnan, the little-known and somewhat mysterious Panthays. To this subject we cannot do justice in a brief notice like the present : we hope to return to it, and to Dr. Anderson's very pleasant book, in an early number of this *Review*.

The Calcutta public, familiar with Dr. Anderson's reputation as a scientific naturalist of the first rank, will probably be disappointed to find that his more strictly scientific notes are not included in the present volume. They are to be published in a separate form by the aid of the Government of India ; and the readers of the present volume will be quite prepared to find, in this supplementary publication, a great deal of valuable information conveyed in a very light and agreeable way.

We trust that an indirect result of the popularity of Dr. Anderson's work in England, will be to direct increased attention to the immense importance to English and Indian commerce, of the opening-up of an overland route to China. It has been feared by some that the departure of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden from Burmah may lead to the shelving—when once British public opinion about the death of Mr. Margary has been satisfied—of this most important, though certainly delicate and troublesome question. Mr. Eden has undoubtedly been the life and soul of this grand enterprise : and it is also true that few Anglo-Indian administrators possess that energy and determination of character, so remarkable in Mr. Eden, which alone can induce a ruler resolutely to face so many difficulties and so many chances of failure, for the sake of commercial advantages which if great are still remote. We believe, however, that in this as in other points, Mr. Eden's place has been worthily occupied by Mr.

Rivers Thompson ; who, if he remains in British Burmah, in the not improbable event of Mr. Eden being permanently detained in another sphere of duty, will have an opportunity of doing great things not frequently given to Indian rulers—an opportunity of diverting the route of what will one day be the most important commercial traffic in the world, to the vast enrichment of his own province and of the Empire at large.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March 1874. By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, Late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London : Smith, Elder & Co., 1876.

Islam : Its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity. By John Muehleisen Arnold, D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Mission Society, Late Her Britannic Majesty's Consular Chaplain, Batavia. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1874.

Notes on Mohammedanism. By the Rev. T. P. Hughes, C.M.S., Missionary to the Afghans, Peshawur. London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1875.

WE have bracketed together, for simultaneous notice, the three recent works on Mohammed and Mohammedanism whose titles are given above, because we think they may with great advantage be studied together. The subject has already occupied so much of the space of the present number of the *Calcutta Review* that the present notice must be a very brief one ; it will be sufficient for our purpose if we indicate broadly the general scope of each of the three, and the points wherein they generally differ.

The third on our list, which we will consider first, is an unpretending little volume, being avowedly only the "notes" or sketch of a proposed future work. For the purposes of the student, however, it is perhaps the most valuable of the three ; and certainly contains more original information than either of the others. It is the result of many years' actual contact with, and work among, strict and sometimes fanatical Mohammedans ; and though slightly marred here and there by a not unnatural display of controversial zeal, it seems to us to be, on the whole, a very fair and even appreciative account of Mohammedanism and its doctrines as they actually exist at the present day. An additional interest is imparted to the description by frequent reference to traditions and customs comparatively little known or hitherto unobserved.

Very different from this, and from each other, are the first two books on our list. Dr. Arnold's *Islam* is a very full and laborious comparison of the religion of Mohammed with Christianity; but it is tinged throughout with a strong controversial tendency that will repel many readers. Arriving at the same broad and general conclusions as those which have been so often and so ably propounded in this *Review* by Sir William Muir, and more recently by Major Osborn, Dr. Arnold works them out and lays them down with a bias that is often offensive to the sincere enquirer after truth. On the other hand, Mr. Bosworth Smith's lectures at the Royal Institution (of which the volume before us is a second edition) seem to us to go to the other extreme, and to be too much inclined to throw a roseate tint over the whole subject. These lectures display a wide range of reading, an accurate historical taste, and a generous appreciation of the subject; but we doubt whether the general impression conveyed by them is a perfectly accurate one. Mr. Smith's work is at any rate highly suggestive, and well worthy of careful study: read side by side with the Sayyid Amir Ali's *Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, and the Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Essays on the Life of Mohammed and the subjects subsidiary thereto*, it will afford a valuable antidote to such prejudiced judgments as those of Dr. Arnold.

Lahore.—Printed at the Government Civil Secretariat Press, 1876.

THIS little book is an admirable description of Lahore as it is, and Lahore as it was, with a large and carefully-executed map. In the way of a guide-book it contains all the information that can be useful or interesting to the new-comer or the visitor; whilst the account it gives of the history and antiquities of the place is of very high historical value. A quaint conceit of the compilers has relegated their names to a far corner of the preface.

Sketches of some distinguished Anglo-Indians, with an account of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature. By Colonel W. F. B. Laurie, Retired, Royal (Madras) Artillery; Author of "Orissa, and the Temple of Jagannáth." "A Narrative of the second Burmese War, &c." London: 1873.

A CHATTY and readable book, written in a kindly spirit, and with a generous estimate of the characters and deeds of Anglo-Indian heroes, such as well befits one who has himself seen good service in India. The "Distinguished Anglo-Indians" of whom sketches are given, are the following:—Sir Alexander Burnes, Dr. Burnes, Sir H. Lawrence, Colvin, Neill, Beatson, Colonel Sykes, General Miller, General Fytche, Sir Arthur Phayre,

and Sir J. W. Kaye. A photograph of the last-named, faces the title-page; and much of the "Sketch of Anglo-Indian Periodicals" is devoted to the early days of this *Review* when under the auspices of Sir John Kaye and Sir Henry Lawrence.

The arrangement of the book is not all that might be desired. Much of it had been previously published in the *Dark Blue* and other periodicals; and hence the collection as it now stands presents a somewhat "scrappy" appearance. We hope it will soon reach a second edition, as it is likely to do, considering the fact that it contains much that is interesting to every Anglo-Indian: and in that case we would strongly recommend the gallant author to recast it, in the form of separate and consecutive chapters.

The Language and Literature of China: Two Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in May and June, 1875. By Robert K. Douglas, of the British Museum, and Professor of Chinese at King's College, London. London: Triübner and Co., 1875.

THIS little book represents a very interesting and praiseworthy attempt to give to the educated public that use the English language, some slight knowledge of the nature of the tongue that forms the only medium of communication between some four hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, and of the literature written in that language—a literature dating from a period centuries before the first recitation of a single line of Homer. It is of course obvious that a lecture, the delivery of which only occupies an hour, can do little towards giving any very full or clear ideas about a language so little known, and which has so little in common with the Indo-European tongues, as the Chinese; still the sketch, necessarily imperfect as it is, is one that will well repay perusal. Professor Douglas shows that the difficulties of learning Chinese have been hitherto much exaggerated, on the *omne ignotum* principle. He demonstrates that, "by carefully following the laws of Chinese syntax, it is possible to express in that, as exactly as in other languages, all the parts of speech in all their variety of number, gender, case, mood, tense, and person, and therefore every shade of meaning which it is possible to convey by word of mouth".

Of the Chinese literature of the present day, Professor Douglas has a very poor opinion. He seems to regard it as utterly effete:—"Every grain of wheat has long ago been beaten out of it, and any further labour expended upon it can but be only as thrashing out straw. The only hope for the future of the literature is that afforded by the importation of foreign knowledge and experience into the country. For many years these can only be introduced in the shape of translations of books".

The Indian Army: Actual Defects and proposed Remedies.

BY C. J. McNALLY, M.D., C.M., Surgeon, Madras Army. Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1875.

THIS is another of the innumerable pamphlets with which the Indian press teems on the subject of our Native Army: but is less pretentious and more practical than the majority of its congeners. Leaving the greater questions of Army organisation and administration to others, Dr. McNally is content not to go beyond his *métier*, and consequently gives the authorities some very practical and sensible suggestions on medical or sanitary reforms as urgently needed as, and little less important than, the greater questions which he judiciously leaves untouched. The points on which the author lays the greatest stress are:—the necessity for more suitable clothing and food than those at present issued to the sepoy; the advantage of paying more attention to the *physique* of recruits and to the physical training of soldiers generally; and the lodgment of native troops in barracks under the direct supervision of their officers instead of in “such miserable and insanitary dwellings as our present ‘Sepoy Lines’ undoubtedly are.”

The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. Talboys

Wheeler, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma; late Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department: Author of *The Geography of Herodotus*, &c., &c. volume IV., Part I.—Mussulman Rule. London: Trübner & Co., 1876.

WE notice the new volume of Mr. Wheeler's *History* in this place, only to express our gratification at the promptitude with which it has followed its predecessor. We propose to devote an article in an early number to a careful examination of this new instalment, which appears to be endowed with all the charms of Mr. Wheeler's lively and agreeable style. In reviewing his former volumes we have generally had occasion to dissent from some of his conclusions, which are apt to be somewhat startling, not to say heterodox; and the present volume seems to us, on a brief survey, to be even more imaginative than the earlier ones. But Mr. Wheeler is a bold and clear thinker, if at times a little too much inclined to be sensational; and his spirited arguments, if they do not always convince, at any rate never fail to instruct by suggesting new lines of thought, whilst they interest every reader.

Kashmir and Kashgar : A Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashgar, in 1873-74. By H. W. Bellew, C. S. I., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Staff Corps, Author of "Journal of a Mission to Kandahar in 1857-58." "Grammar and Dictionary of the Pukhto Language." "From the Indus to the Tigris," &c. London : Trübner and Co., 1875.

THIS handsome volume, from the well-known pen of Dr. Bellew, is of the highest value and importance, from many points of view. Every one has heard of the Atalik Ghazi and the great Muhammadan revolutions of Western China or Eastern Turkestan, but few know anything at all about that mysterious personage and those obscure though important events; Dr. Bellew in his Preface gives a very intelligible *resumé* of what is known about them. The vast and imperfectly explored regions of Eastern Central Asia are daily becoming of more interest to all English readers, as well as to all Russians; Dr. Bellew in his *Introduction* gives an admirably succinct account of those countries and their inhabitants, their history and politics. And finally, the remainder of the book is an agreeable description of a journey that combined the interest of highly adventuresome travels through unknown and dangerous regions, with the excitement of a political mission of a very important character. We hope shortly to be able to offer our readers a more detailed account of this portion of Dr. Bellew's book.

Marsden's Numismata Orientalia : A New Edition. Part I.—Ancient Indian Weights. By Edward Thomas, F.R.S., late of the East India Company's Bengal Civil Service. London : Trübner and Co., 1874.

Marsden's Numismata Orientalia : A New Edition. Part II.—Coins of the Urtuki Turkumans. By Stanley Lane Poole, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London : Trübner and Co., 1876.

WE owe this truly magnificent publication—which, though nominally based on Marsden's great work, is really a new cyclopædia of Oriental Numismatology on a very grand scale—partly to the never-flagging energy of Mr. Thomas, late B. C. S., and partly to the enterprise and public spirit of that prince of publishers, Mr. Trübner.

The two parts that are now before us are beautifully got up, and the illustrations superbly executed. Altogether the work is of the kind that every numismatologist will gloat over: whilst to the Oriental historian and archæologist its incidental value will be very great indeed. It will doubtless find its way at once into the library of every Orientalist.

Alexander the Great in the Punjab: From Arrian, Book V. With Notes. By the Rev. C. E. Moberly, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School. Rivingtons, London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1875.

THIS little book is uniform with the "Rugby" series of annotated English classics. Mr. Moberly has taken some slight and pardonable liberties with the questionable Greek of Arrian, so as to screw it more up to the classical level; he has annotated the text carefully, and prefixed a clear and readable introduction; and the result is a work which will be valuable, not only as a school-book, but as an excellent little monograph for students of Indian Antiquities, on the interesting subject of Alexander's Punjab Campaign.

A Short Introduction to the ordinary Prākṛit of the Sanskrit Dramas: With a list of common Irregular Prākṛit words. By E. B. Cowell, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge, and Hon. LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh. London: Trübner & Co., 1875.

THE value of this little work to the Sanskrit student may readily be understood when we mention that in twenty-eight small pages of large type a sketch of Prākṛit grammar is given which contains all that will be required to enable a Sanskrit scholar to understand the Prākṛit of Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti. For a fuller understanding of the subject we must go to Lassen and Weber, of course; but it is a very great convenience to have the chief points of Prākṛit grammar and idiom laid down so concisely and clearly.

The Vedāṛthayātṇa: Or, an attempt to interpret the Vedas. Bombay: Indu-Prakāśh Press, 1876.

WE have no hesitation in pronouncing this work, of which we have now two numbers before us, as one of the best and most valuable of all those that have been issued from the Native Press in India. It consists of a Marāṭhi and an English translation of the Rig-Veda, side by side, with the original Samhitā and Pada texts in Sanskrit opposite to them. The Marāṭhi version is enriched with notes; and the one defect of the work,—one that will be felt severely by those readers who do not know Marāṭhi,—is that similar notes are not attached to the English translation. We hope that it may yet be not too late to amend this; and in the meantime we heartily acknowledge that even in its present form, the work is a great boon to students of the Vedas.

The Principles of Comparative Philology. By A. H. Sayce, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and of the German Oriental Society. Second edition, revised and enlarged. London: Trübner and Co., 1875.

IN common with all students of the still youthful but rapidly developing science of glottology, we gladly welcome the appearance of a second edition of Mr. Sayce's highly suggestive work. His first edition is now so well known amongst all those who take any interest in the subject, that we need say little more of the volume before us, than that it is a careful revision of that earlier edition. Mr. Sayce, as standing in the very front rank of Assyriologists, has been accustomed to the careful and laborious consideration of the evolution of language; and many of his striking and ingenious hypotheses have already worked themselves into the position of accepted principles. His leading and fundamental theory—that the evolution of language has been analytic rather than synthetic, *i. e.*, that language starts with the sentence, not with the isolated word, is well known; and is very nearly the same as that which has been called the interjectional theory of the origin of language. If this principle be granted, it must of course follow that all roots are merely the result of grammatical analysis—as also all distinction between flectional and derivative suffixes and the like. All these, and many other interesting points, are fully and carefully discussed in Mr. Sayce's book, which bristles with facts and arguments in support of the position he has taken up.

Religious and Moral Sentiments, metrically rendered from Sanskrit writers: With an Introduction and an Appendix containing exact translations in prose. By J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. London: Williams and Norgate, 1875.

THIS little book, like everything from the pen of its learned author, bears all the marks of ripe and careful scholarship, and of being the product of a mind of the highest natural refinement combined with the highest cultivation. An acute and profound introduction discusses the question (recently treated of by Professor Tawney in these pages) of the indebtedness of Sanskrit writers to the moral teachings of the Bible. Of the epigrams and guomes that form the text of the work, many are very happily turned into English metre; and they well deserve, both in point and in purity of teaching, to hold a permanent place in the literature to which they have been transplanted.

Tamil Wisdom : Traditions concerning Hindu Sages, and Selections from their Writings. By Edward Jewitt Robinson. With an Introduction by the late Rev. Elijah Hoole, D.D. London : Wesleyan Conference Office, 1873.

AN interesting little book, very similar in its scope to Dr Muir's *Religious and Moral Sentiments from the Sanskrit*. It does for the literature of the South what Dr. Muir has done for the Sanskrit; and some of the translations from Valluvar and Ouvvay are both spirited and musical. The Introduction by Dr. Hoole is interesting both for its own sake, and as being (we are informed), the last production of the pen of that veteran Missionary.

The Indian Student's Manual. By J. Murdoch, LL.D. Madras, 1875.

DR. Murdoch is well known to many of our readers as one of the most zealous and energetic educationists in India; and he has probably done more than any other person in Southern India to improve the tone of school literature in the country. The book before us is a series of well-considered hints to Indian youths on their studies, moral conduct and religious duties. It is, of course, frankly Christianising in its exhortations, and as such, cannot be introduced into Government schools. But it may fairly be put into the hands of all boys in Missionary colleges and schools; and the well-meant endeavours of its author to improve the character of our rising generation, will have the sympathy of every one who has at heart the welfare of this great Empire.

English Gipsy Songs : In Rommany, with Metrical English translations. By Charles S. Leland, Professor E. H. Palmer, and Janet Tuckey. London : Trübner and Co., 1875.

MR. Leland says, in his Introduction to this curious and interesting collection of Gipsy Songs, "I would observe, with regard to the origin of Rommany, that my fellow-labourer, Professor E. H. Palmer of Cambridge, has decided, on examining a vocabulary of more than four thousand English Gipsy words collected by me, that nearly all of them, not of Greek or European origin, are Hindi or Persian, the Hindi greatly predominating." This curious fact, which will not be new to many of our readers, has been the subject of the patient and laborious research of Dr. Miklosich, one of the most indefatigable of the modern school of German philologists; who, by the way, ought to derive much assistance in his labours from the observations of Indian philologists, if

only these observations were systematically recorded. We will quote one stanza from a sprightly ballad called *Ballovas an yoras* (Eggs and Bacon), both because it is a good specimen of the general style of these Rommany songs, and also because it will interest our readers to trace the Indian element in the language :—

Mándy latched a hotchewitchi
 A boro hotchewitchi,
 A tullo hotchewitchi,
 A jállin 'dre the wesh.
 'Dóí well de rye te ráni,
 A kushito rye te ráni,
 Au' adoi, 'tull the rúkkor ;
 Mándy dicked the dui besh.

This Mr. Leland freely translates :—

Oh ! I found a jolly hedgehog ;
 Oh ! I found a good fat hedgehog,
 In the wood beyond the town.
 And there came the lord and lady,
 The handsome lord and lady.
 And underneath the branches
 I saw the two sit down.

It is much to be regretted that in the transcriptions, the compilers have adopted neither the Jonesian nor indeed any other method of transliteration ; doubtless the identification of the words would have been much easier if every word had been written as carefully as *rání* in the above extract (elsewhere printed *raunce*). Thus *rye* (the word that occurs in the familiar *Rommany Rye*) would be much more readily recognised if written *rai* ; again *túll* the *rúkkor* should probably be *tal* (compare the Hindustani *tal-khāna*, an under-room or cellar) the *rúkkor* ; and of course *boro* is *bara* ; *tullo* is probably *motalá*, the first syllable being elided. The last line of the stanza (barring the *Mándy*, which is rather far off from *main*) would probably be easily understood by most Calcutta folk as it stands : and certainly every Anglo-Indian (remembering that *chumá* is the common Hindustani word for *hus*) would readily understand these lines, a little further down, spoken by the Gipsy-woman who had played the eavesdropper :—

If they jinned I dicked the chumors,
 If they jinned I shúned the chumors,
 Oh ! the ráni would a-mered.

In a song that is apparently a version of the well-known American ballad, *One little, two little, three little Indians*, we get all the numerals up to ten, in a very familiar form :—*Yeck, dui, trin, shlor, panj, shor, áftā, oitoo, enneah, desh*.

It is well worthy of notice that in these, as in such words as *besh* quoted above, the Rommany is much closer to the Hindi or

Prākrit forms than to the Persianized Urdu. The subject is a most interesting one, and will doubtless attract more and more attention.

A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields. By Toru Dutt. Bhowanipore, 1876. *

A COLLECTION of charmingly light and tasteful translations from French lyrics selected from the works of Béranger, Sainte-Beuve, Victor Hugo, and other poets. The translator is, we understand, a young Bengali lady; but she uses the English language with all the facility and grace of a skilled English writer, and we cannot but conclude that she has received much of her education in Europe. In any case, however, this book of short poems is a most interesting and pleasing one—pleasing by its intrinsic beauties, and interesting as showing the high degree of natural taste, improved by culture and refinement, that may be found amongst the daughters of the country.

A Manual of Indian Cattle and Sheep; their Breeds, Management, and Diseases. By John Shortt, M.D., V.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S., &c., Surgeon-Major, Madras Medical Department. Madras, Higginbotham & Co., 1876.

THIS is a very useful book, from the pen of the first authority on the subject. Dr. Shortt's name will be known to most of our readers as that of a most successful breeder and importer of cattle and sheep, and one possessing a very remarkable store of knowledge and experience about them; and this store is put at the disposal of every cattle-breeder and mutton-club manager in India. The drugs prescribed are all cheap and easily procurable in this country, nearly all being found in every bazaar; and the descriptions of treatment are simple and practical. The plates were specially prepared for the work, and are extremely well executed; and the general get up of the book is such as we are accustomed to see in Messrs. Higginbotham's excellent publications.

Currency, Exchange, and Bullion: considered with reference to the present crisis in the value of Silver. By T. Cave Winscom, Deputy-Collector of Coimbatore, Late Manager of the Bank of Madras, Cochin, and Royal Bank of India, Mauritius, and Calcutta. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1876.

WE have to thank the publishers for a copy of this *brochure*. Our readers will find the subject fully discussed in another page of this *Review*; so in this place we need do no more than

express our appreciation of Mr. Winscom's labours in contributing the results of his valuable experience to the elucidation of this most pressing and difficult problem.

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. III,—Parts I. and II. Yokohama : Japan Mail Office, 1875.

THE Asiatic Society of Japan is, we believe, the youngest offspring of the venerable Society of Bengal, the parent and archetype of all such Associations ; and the bantling seems to be a very vigorous one. The two numbers of the *Transactions* now before us, contain some excellent papers that will be read with interest in a much wider circle than that immediately connected with Japan. Dr. Geerts' paper on *the useful 'minerals and Metallurgy of the Japanese* is a most important one, from an industrial and commercial point of view : we would commend it to the notice of the Chambers of Commerce of the great centres of metallurgy in England. Another very lengthy paper, printed as an *Appendix* to Part I., is a monograph by G. M. Satow, Esq., Japanese Secretary to H. B. M. Legation, Yedo, on *the Revival of Pure Shintô* : and is a most valuable contribution to the infant science of Comparative Religion. Pure Shintô is the name given to the ancient religion of the Japanese, that existed amongst that remarkable people from primitive times before the introduction of Buddhism and the subsequent Confucian philosophy. In the present day one of the results of the intellectual and religious commotions caused by the introduction of Western civilisation into Japan, seems to be an attempt to effect a revival of this primitive form of religion—a movement which forms a striking analogue to the somewhat similar Vedic revival, of which we have already seen something in the writings of some of our modern Indian scholars, and of which we are probably destined to see a great deal more.

Several valuable papers on the topography of the Empire of Japan will be found in the numbers under notice. An article on Japanese architecture, entitled *Constructive Art in Japan*, is of considerable general interest : though one of the features that seems to be of chief importance in a Japanese building, security against earthquakes, is fortunately of less consequence in most other countries. It is somewhat curious to read of Boulevards in Yedo, and a grand new Town-hall and a new Custom House in Yokohama, all buildings with some pretensions to high architectural art.

Islam under the Arabs. By Robert Durie Osborn, Major in the Bengal Staff Corps. London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1876.

JUST before going to press, we have at last received a copy of the first instalment of Major Osborn's long expected work ; and the preface informs us that the second portion, to be called *The Khalifs of Baghdad*, will appear next year ; and the third will be entitled *Islam in India*. If the *Calcutta Review* were to give Major Osborn's scholarly work its due meed of eulogy, our readers might with some show of reason accuse us of self-praise : for most of the studies or sketches on which the work has been built up have appeared in these pages ; and for some years past, no name has been more closely associated with the best efforts of this *Review* than that of the accomplished author whose finished work we now hail with equal pride and pleasure. We will content ourselves, in this place, with merely saying that the beauties alike of thought and of style, that we have been accustomed to look for in Major Osborn's Essays, evidently lose nothing of their attractions in the more polished and more solid form of a carefully elaborated treatise. We are quite sure that the book will immediately take its place as the highest English authority on the subject of which it treats—position to which its author's erudition entitles it, and which the many graces of his style will enable it to maintain.

A. D. BURKE & CO.,
TAILORS,
SHIRT MAKERS AND OUT-FITTERS.

NEWEST AND BEST GOODS

AT LOWEST PRICES

FOR CASH.

A. D. BURKE & CO.,
. 13, OLD COURT HOUSE STREET,
CALCUTTA.

CUTLER, PALMER & CO.,

Import and Export Wine Merchants.

PATRONS.

Her Majesty



The Queen,

THE ADMIRALTY,

*The undermentioned well-known owners of India, China,
and Australian Lines :*

Messrs. Matheson & Co.

Messrs. McGregor, Gow & Co.

„ Watts, Milburn & Co.

„ Killick, Martin & Co.

„ The P. & O. S. N. Co.

REGIMENTAL MESSES AND THE UNDERMENTIONED CLUB HOUSES :

The Bengal.

The Reform.

The Lucknow.

The Simla.

The Athenæum.

The Cawnpore.

The Bombay.

The P. & O. S. N.

The Sirhind.

The Nynee Tal.

Company.

The Tuticorin.

The Himalaya.

The Windham.

The Tirhoot Planters.'

Established 1815.

THE ADMIRALTY.

MESSRS. CUTLER, PALMER & CO. have much pleasure in stating that their PORT has been selected by a Committee of Officers for use on board Her Majesty's Ships.

CALCUTTA HOUSE :—10, HARE STREET.

LONDON OFFICES :—Garrick House, Adelphi Terrace, W.C. ; and 44, Mark Lane, City, E.C.

BORDEAUX HOUSE :—Place du Champ de Mars. BOMBAY HOUSE, Dean Lane.

TRADE PRICE LIST.

TERMS IN BOND.

Credit 3 Months with acceptance to approved buyers.

10% discount with 5% extra for Cash with order under 25 cases.

10% „ 10% „ „ „ „ above 25 & under 50 cases to include 10 cs Spirits.

12½% „ 10% „ „ „ „ „ 50 „ 100 „ „ 20 „

15% „ 10% „ „ „ „ „ 100 cases „ 30 „

WACHTER'S CHAMPAGNE.

15 per cent. discount with 5 per cent. extra for Cash with order of 12 cases

BISQUIT, DUBOUCHE & CO.'S COGNACS.

Are quoted net, with one month's Credit or 5 per cent. discount allowed for Cash with order.

DUTY to be remitted with order, on interest charged at 12 per cent. per annum.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXIII.

1876.

EDITED BY E. LETHBRIDGE, M.A.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA :

THOMAS S. SMITH, CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

BOMBAY: MESSRS. THACKER, VINING & CO.

MADRAS: MESSRS. HIGGINBOTHAM & CO.

LONDON: MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N o. C X X V I.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—IN THE NIZAM'S COUNTRY... ..	117
„ II.—BRITISH BURMAH IN 1874-1875.	
Report on the Administration of British Burmah in the year 1874-5	240
„ III.—EGYPTOLOGY.	
1.—Egypt from the Earliest Times to B. C. 300. By Dr. Samuel Birch, of the British Museum, 1875.	
2.—Records of the Past: being English Translations from Egyptian Monuments, 1875.	
3.—Up the Nile by Steam. By Thomas Cook, 1875.	
4.—Murray's Hand Book to Egypt, 1875.	
5.—Grammaire Hieroglyphique. Par Henri Brugsch, 1872.	
6.—Archaic Classics:—Elementary Grammar of the Ancient Egyptian Language. By P. LePage Renouf, 1875.	
7.—Dictionnaire d'Archæologie Egyptienne. Par Paul Pierret, 1875.	
8.—Mahaffy's Prolegomena of Antient History 1871.	
9.—Bunsen's Egypt's Place in Universal History. Vol. V. Edited by Dr. G. Birch, 1867... ..	262
„ IV.—ANCIENT INDIAN METAPHYSICS	292
„ V.—OUR LAND REVENUE POLICY IN NORTHERN INDIA. By Charles James Connell, B.C.S.	331
„ VI.—THE LAST OF THE BRITISH BARDS	355
„ VII.—THE INDIAN OPIUM REVENUE	365
„ VIII.—THE INDIAN POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.	
1.—Resolution by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 1899: dated 22nd August 1873.	
2.—Notification by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 223; dated 21st. January 1874	362

ART. IX.—THE NINE-LAKH CHAIN: OR, THE MARO FEUD.

Being the first portion of the Lay of Alha ... 393

CRITICAL NOTICES:—

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE:—

- Swapna-prayāna. By Dijendra Nátha Thákur. Calcutta : Valmiki Press, Śakávdā, 1797 ... xxiii
- The Vanga Darsana. Edited by Bankima Chandra Chattopadhya. Vol. IV. No. 12, Chaitra, 1282 B. S. : Kantálpára, Vanga Darsana Press ... xxviii
- Sabhyatár Itihāsa. Part First. By Sri Krishna Dāsa. Printed and published by Daivaki Nandana Sena; Dasa and Company's Vijuana Press ... xxix

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE:—

- Nāradiya Dharmasāstra, or, The Institutes of Nārada. Translated for the first time from the unpublished Sanskrit Original. By Dr. Julius Jolly, University, Würzburg, London : Trübner and Co. 1876 ... xxx
- Pidgin-English Sing-Song ; or Songs and Stories in the China-English dialect. With a Vocabulary. By Charles C. Leland, London : Trübner and Co. 1876 xxxi
- Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume. By the Rev. B. H. Badley, of the American Methodist Mission. Lucknow : American Methodist Mission Press. London : Trübner and Co. 1876 ... xxxii
- Remarkable Criminal Trials in Bengal. By Lex. Thos. S. Smith, City Press, Calcutta ... xxxiii

• THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CXVI.

ART. I.—IN THE NIZAM'S COUNTRY.

NATURALLY there are a number of things which an inquiring stranger finds it hard to understand when first he begins to look about him in India. Some of these only puzzle him the more, the longer he thinks over them; but others gradually become intelligible. Among the former, for example, is the question why it is that, notwithstanding the general extension of railways, our European soldiers, instead of being quartered in health and vigour on the hills, are still located for the most part on the very spots occupied by them five and twenty years ago; when it took as many weeks as it now does days to move a regiment or battery on any sudden emergency from one point to another. Vast sums of money are being laid out, in order to erect on the plains themselves colossal barracks, such as it is fondly hoped will serve, if not to alter the climate of the districts in which they stand, at all events to prevent it from producing its natural effects on the constitutions of those subjected to it. If a register were obtained of admittances to hospital, invalidings, and deaths among European soldiers year by year for the last ten or fifteen years, at stations where barrack-building has been going on during that time on its grandest scale, that would greatly assist us in judging what effect on health the new barracks really have had.

• Another matter which puzzled the present writer, on finding himself, early in the year 1869, serving in the heart of His Highness the Nizam's country, was the circumstance of a large division of the imperial army of India having been told off apparently for the exclusive use and advantage of our feudatory the Nawab of Hyderabad. This was a point on which many a growl was uttered over numerous mess-tables. That an ardent *sabreur* like Cornet Longlegs, for example, should be sent to kick, albeit without cooling, his heels in the centre of an Indian State, all for the sake of saving the Nizam from being

swallowed up by his own servants, or otherwise made away with, seemed against the natural order of things. But the subject, like most other subjects, was soon seen to admit of being looked at from quite another than the gallant Cornet's point of view. First of all, it was evident that the Nizam had not secured to himself the services of such a force for nothing; nor even in consideration of what political love to expatiate on as the 'ancient friendship subsisting between the two Governments.' The fact is one of his ancestors—the wisest of the family it may be presumed—had in a manner purchased the force from us outright; or at all events, by ceding to us early in the present century a large extent of territory, had obtained from us a treaty stipulation by which we still stand pledged always to maintain within his dominions a certain fixed strength of European and native battalions detailed from our own military establishments. The Hyderabad Subsidiary Force is the name which was given at the time, and is still applied, to this armament. It is not a separate force, or Contingent; but is furnished and relieved by the Madras army, to which the regiments and batteries composing it belong. It is quartered partly in the old Cantonment of Secunderabad, which takes its name from a flourishing native town in its vicinity; and partly in certain ranges of stately barracks, which have been under erection for many years a couple of miles or so to the northward, and have given a 'local habitation and a name' on the map of India to the obscure hamlet of Trimulgherry lying near them. The whole position is within a convenient distance of the Nizam's capital. His Highness has clearly had the best of a bargain which has served, like the above, to interpose an impregnable bulwark between his line and the chances of intestinal commotion during the greater portion of the century. Moreover a more flattering and pleasant mode could hardly have been resorted to for obtaining from the Nawab that contribution to the general defence of the empire at large, which it is plainly incumbent on every native State to furnish. The next time the gods send India another Marquis of Dalhousie to govern it, let us hope he will not occupy himself in devising or defending dubious theories of 'Lapse,' thereby enlarging the area of a sovereignty already perhaps overgrown, but will bethink himself rather of federalising on one harmonious system those native States which still remain; and converting them from what they may now perhaps be called—the *disjecta membra* of a bye-gone historical epoch—into hewn pillars in one consolidated edifice of empire. If ever this be done, then the share which should be assigned to each State in bearing the military burdens of the country may perhaps fall to be considered. At present we are in the position of a foreign power which is called upon to provide for

the military necessities of a vast empire, large portions of which yield us no direct revenue, owing to their being in the hands of rulers of their own. This circumstance, taken in conjunction with numerous features in the organization and administration of our own military and other establishments, may well help to account for the chronic deficits in the imperial treasury which serve from time to time to embarrass Finance ministers even of Sir R. Temple's calibre. But even if the shares contributed by the several native States to the maintenance of the military armaments of the country ever come to be re-adjusted, we are not sure that Hyderabad could be required to do much more in this way than it has already done; or than was done for it at least by its good old friend the Company. Not only does the Nizam provide, as explained above, for the payment of a strong division of our Madras army, but the districts which were ceded by his ancestor for that purpose have, as usual, so flourished under British management, that their revenues are said to be largely in excess of the charge they were originally made over to us to meet. The surplus, of course, is absorbed in the coffers of the Presidency with which the districts themselves have been incorporated, namely, Madras: while as for the portion of the Madras army the cost of which has thus been taken off our hands, who can say that it has been *alienated* from us; or that the telegraph and Suez Canal might not be put in requisition to move a portion of it to wherever it was required, in Europe or elsewhere, in the event of a possible *casus belli* looming on the Downing Street horizon? In this respect, Hyderabad is but exposed to a danger which threatens India itself on a far more serious scale; namely, the weakening on emergency of its protecting force. India under its Empress, it will be remembered, no longer claims the services even of those few battalions of localised European infantry which were maintained under the Company; and which, when their brethren of the home establishment had been dispersed to China and Persia in 1856, did so much to break the first shock of the terrible tempest of the following year. In this view of the case, indeed, the Nizam's little principality may perhaps be considered better cared for than is the great Indian empire itself; for even admitting that His Highness could not with any grace withhold his sanction to our withdrawing a portion of the Subsidiary Force in a season of imperial difficulty, he has yet another and purely local, British force of his own to fall back upon, namely, the Hyderabad Contingent. Originally this was known as the Nizam's Army. It was officered at first by European and Eurasian gentlemen holding Commissions only from the Nizam. But by degrees officers belonging to the Company's own army were lent to His

Highness, for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the force ; which thus gradually became not only a very soldier-like and favourite service, but a sweet morsel of patronage under the tongue of various high authorities. A standing order of the service required all Commandants of batteries and regiments to vacate their appointments on attaining the rank of Major. This prevented the little army from being selected, as it occasionally perhaps is now-a-days, by veterans with large families and more or less impaired vitality, as a quiet anchorage in which to "hold on," as a grim but expressive phrase describes it, "for their off- reckonings."* The regiments were commanded by men in the prime of life ; some of whom would have adorned any army. Indeed it is just possible that the high standard of efficiency presented by the Nizam's army, both in its original form, and afterwards as the Hyderabad Contingent, may have had something to do in recommending the idea of denuding the regiments of the whole native army of India of their proper and essential complement of European officers. Because the conditions of service under one of the principal Muhammadan princes of India, namely the Nizam, were such as to attract to his standards natives of means and of good family, who were allowed to join as Captains, or at all events as Lieutenants, of troops, it has apparently been argued that the rôle played in the Nizam's and other similar armies by native leaders of that stamp would equally be played by the worn-out old Subadars whom the adoption by us of the so-called irregular system has served to promote into the places hitherto held by officers of our own race and characteristics. The experiment thus instituted has yet to stand the test of time. With regard, however, to the Nizam's army, the fly in the pot of honey was this ; namely, His Highness was not always able to pay his soldiers. And as these included numerous officers of the Company's own armies, the Resident had often to take up the cudgels in their behalf. This led to unpleasant complications ; until at last Lord Dalhousie cut the knot after his own fashion, by calling upon the Nizam either to disband the brigade altogether, or make

* The effect of these same 'off- reckonings,' or 'Colonel's Allowances' on the minds of some Indian military officers of the present time was well illustrated by a story that went the round of last year's Camp of Exercise at Delhi. A veteran without employment had been impressed for the day, much to his disgust, as 'galloper,' or Orderly officer, to a Brigadier ; and attracted general

notice by the 'gingerly' pace he adopted when sent with an order. An irreverent A. D. C. was afterwards administering a little mild chaff to the senior on this subject ; when the latter replied, 'Ah, my boy, if you were as near your off- reckonings as I am, you would think twice before you galloped across ground like that !'

over to the British Government, not indeed in sovereignty or perpetuity, but merely in trust, as much territory as would yield every year the sum required for its payment. The ultimatum thus offered to the Nizam has been pretty generally regarded as one of the finest specimens of what is called Hobson's choice to be met with in the whole range of Indian history. However, it may be presumed His Highness winced at the second a trifle less than he did at the first horn of the dilemma; for we find him consenting in 1853, rather than disband his army, to make the required territorial assignment for its payment. The old name of Nizam's army was at the same time exchanged for that of Hyderabad Contingent; those officers who were not in the service of the Company were pensioned off, and the brigade became nominally, what it had long been in reality, an armament maintained by the Company at the expense of the Nizam for the defence of His Highness' country. In spite of one or two disadvantages, the Hyderabad Contingent has well sustained the military reputation of the Nizam's army of former days. Times are changed it is true. Bands of Rohilla free-lances are no longer apt to muster in the Hyderabad territory, sack a town or village, and suddenly disperse again, as was the fashion twenty or thirty years ago. Therefore the *boot and saddle* is sounded less frequently in the lines of the modern than of the ancient force; and it is just possible that both horses and riders may have grown a trifle thicker in the wind, and fuller of girth than they once were. But, on the whole, there has been improvement, not deterioration; and the distinguished service rendered by a portion of the brigade during the mutinies, when detached by the Resident of the day, the late Colonel Davidson, to strengthen the Central India column under Sir Hugh Rose, shows how fairly the Contingent also, and not merely the Subsidiary force, may be reckoned upon as a possible support to our own military resources in the time of need.

What with the Maol Ali races, weekly cricket-matches, frequent pic-nics to places of interest near the city, and plenty of snipe-shooting and coursing, our first cold season at Secunderabad passed only too quickly away: and it was the universal opinion of Her Majesty's —th regiment that India was a far better country than it was called. The Nizam's death happened very suddenly, just about the time now referred to. And though no delay occurred in declaring his infant son Mir Mahbub Ali Khan as his successor, yet the event led many of us to cast hankering glances at that 'chapter of accidents,' or 'force of circumstances,' which is said to have had so much to do with the up-building of our Indian empire. The armed demonstrations which the officer then in temporary command of the Subsidiary Force deemed appropriate

to the occasion imparted a charming fillip to us all; and an old Major, who had helped to sack Delhi and Lucknow, began about the same time to inquire in what part of the city the Nizam's treasures were kept. But every thing remained peaceful.

In due time the month of April ushered in the trying Indian hot season. Owing to a scanty rain-fall the previous autumn, the winds that year threatened to be hotter, and the temperature higher, than is usual at Secunderabad. The water also began to run low in the wells; and it was a bad look-out for the little collections of flowers in pots around our quarters; the probability being that they would all be dried up before the rains set in. Already the rocky plain on which the barracks stood bore as little resemblance to the green expanse it had presented when first we encamped on it, a few months before, as the great African desert does to the garden of Iran, or the vales of Cashmere. The first thing one saw in the morning, supposing him an early riser, was the sun gathered into a malignant looking red fire-ball on the horizon, preparatory to expanding himself for the day into a power and presence so intense and all-pervading as to leave one sensible or conscious, out-of-doors at least, of little else save him only. Even towards night, when his fire was quenched for a time, the earth seemed hot as a volcano; and instead of cool breezes, a blue mist or haze—the condensed essence possibly of cholera or small-pox—would spring up and thicken all round the horizon, as if the heavens still hissed after the heating they had received. Blasts of hot dry wind ran riot all day long, now with clouds of dust, now with whirling columns of withered leaves stripped from the *pipal* trees; whose huge bare branches threw a weird dash of winter into the hot and glowing landscape. The seasons so jostle one another in India that it is hard to say when it is winter, when spring, and when autumn. Each tree and plant seems to keep its own seasons in fact. In a garden in the Deccan, the rose “pitches her golden throne,” as the Persian poets describe it, from one end of the year to the other; but of two rose-bushes on the same bed one perhaps will be blossoming when the other is hybernating. And then again the mango-tree is in the full glory of its dark green foliage, and maturing its delicious fruit, at the very time when many of its forest companions are shedding their leaves, and passing through their brief period of repose, that is, in March and April. But, on the whole, the hot weather seems to be to the vegetation of India what winter is to that of temperate climes; and the ample layer of withered leaves which then covers the surface of gardens and orchards acts like the snows of Europe in protecting the earth from the extreme of temperature, and affording a grateful shelter to the half-dead herbs and grasses.

Not till the rains begin to fall do these leaves decay ; and their elements are thus returned to the earth just at the time when nature's annual awakening makes their fertilizing effects most valuable.

In proportion^d as the reign of desolation closed in around our barracks did that of *ennui* and weariness commence within. The ladies must have found it even more tiresome than we did. Visit-posing, during the day at least, was suspended for the present. The regimental croquet-ground too was so dried up, and the air even after sunset was always so hot and unrefreshing, that this once favourite lounge gradually became deserted. We bachelors saw little either of the ladies, except during certain weary nights when private theatricals would be persisted in for their amusement, or of the married officers, except on parade, or at certain inevitable dinner-parties ; but, finding our several quarters waxing intolerably like bakers' ovens or heated brick-kilns, were fain to ensconce ourselves from morning till night, much in the style of a beleaguered garrison, in the mess-rooms ; where, with wet mattings in the door-ways, and a plentiful supply of cooling liquors always on tap, it was voted just possible to chase the lingering hours away. But how is it that our countrymen will not accept their happiness, even when it is permitted to them to be idle ? Labour being part of the curse pronounced on man, why is it that, when left without anything to do, he so generally becomes miserable ? *Desipere in loco* is sweet no doubt : and none have indulged in it more heartily than some of our hardest workers. But *semper desipere* sounds to those who have tried it, and who have anything in them at all, much like a sentence of solitary imprisonment for life. How many of our pursuits and sciences, and even of our very religions—how many more especially of what are termed the modern schools of thought—have been invented and cultivated merely to relieve men from the weariful pains of vacuity. Some, on seeing a fine day, will be seized with an irresistible impulse to 'go out and kill something ;' perhaps a lordly stag, or salmon ; perhaps only a hare, or even a few barn-rats—capital fun those last afford too when ferrets and terriers are up to their work. Possibly this *ardor venaticus* has its roots in the days when men were 'mighty hunters before the Lord,' and hunted that they might eat. But that it owes its continued force to the necessity we are under of staying the pangs not of hunger, but of idleness, seems more than probable. Others when without occupation will succumb under an *ardor* of a different kind, even the *cacoëthes scribendi*. How many, we would like to know, of those books (and articles too) of making of which there is said to be 'no end,' owe their existence to no other cause than a craving on their authors' part to do *something*, when there

is nothing very definite devolving on him to do. Burns' familiar lines are to the point :—

A country fellow at the plough,
His acres tilled, he's right enough ;
A country lassie at her wheel,
Her dizzens done, she's unco weel ;
But gentlemen, and ladies warst,
Wi' e'en down want o' work are curst ;
They loiter, lounging, lank, and lazy,
Though deil hae't ails them, yet uneasy ;
Their days insipid, dull, and tasteless.
Their nights unquiet, long, and restless."

To the curious adjustment by which leisure for work so frequently generates a craving for something to do must probably be credited a large portion of what is achieved in the course of every year by some of the world's most valuable workmen. But as for us, when the weary hot weather had reduced our duties to something like stagnation point, and cut us off from most of our ordinary pursuits and amusements, there was really nothing for it, except the old story to 'go out and shoot something.' Garrison schools of Instruction had not at that time been extended as has since been the case. Even if there had been one at our door, it would certainly have been closed, like everything else, for the hot weather ; while the Instructor himself was enjoying a well-earned 'holiday on the hills. Fortunately the surrounding country abounded in opportunities for the sportsman. A portion of the press has lately been trying to make out a case against Indian officialdom, on a charge of preserving the *Fera Naturæ* of their districts for their own special delectation. Something of this kind might perhaps have been looked for at Hyderabad, if anywhere in India. Large tracts of country are there held by powerful nobles, any of whom might well have been a tiger-preserver, either from hunting propensities of his own, or moved by a quiet hint from some political officer who was fond of the sport. But nothing of this kind has ever been known. On the contrary, the most willing and liberal assistance is afforded both by the British and native authorities to every one desirous of traversing the country in quest of big game. Elephants are 'lent to them by the Nizam's government, and fed at the expense of the State all the time they are thus employed. A money-reward is also paid for every beast of prey destroyed. Officers usually divide this among their followers, so that all may work with a will. A similar reward is equally claimable by the humblest village herdsman who has the luck some moonlight night, when watching beside a pool of water, to send a bullet from his 'matchlock through a tiger or panther as he comes to drink. A tiger that has thus been shot during

the night, and whose huge carcase is being brought in on a cart, for the sake of the reward, is an object occasionally met with in one's early morning rides in the environs of Hyderabad. The hot season, weary as it was in Cantonment, was the time of times, we found, for tiger-shooting. Water is then very scarce; and the beasts of the forest are much restricted to places near which it is to be found. Trees and shrub, too are nearly all shedding their foliage; so that thickets impervious to the eye at other seasons are then comparatively bare and open. In April or May, the hunter, if mounted on an elephant can generally depend on seeing his game as soon as the latter can see him. In the months when the forest is green, on the other hand, the difficulty of marking down and getting a shot at a tiger is much increased by the denseness of the cover.

If your readers would care to be conducted with a party of sportsmen through a two-months' tiger campaign in the Nizam's country, doubtless there are pens now in India far more capable than the present writer's which would do so were a hint thrown out. As it is, who knows but the task might even have been attempted here, had not a small appointment chanced to devolve upon him and compel him to remain at head-quarters, just as the party which he was to have accompanied was about to set out. Tents and servants had been sent on a few marches in advance, our intention being to ride after them and catch them up. This modest instalment of my original programme I was still glad enough to have the enjoyment of; and a right merry party we formed as we started one morning considerably before day-break for our little encampment. This we found pitched in a magnificent mango-grove, which really seemed to afford a more ample shelter from the sun than did any of the houses we had been living in at Trimulgherry, notwithstanding that the latter had been erected by the Government Department of Public Works on the most approved plans. Traps to catch sunbeams were they at the best; and very uncomfortable cotenants the said sunbeams proved, as we had been experiencing to our cost. The shade of the mango-trees, on the other hand, seemed to have a wonderful power of excluding the heat and glare, while admitting every 'calfer breeze' that stirred. Modest as we had thought our belongings, it was surprising what considerable dimensions the encampment presented. This was chiefly caused by the presence of the Government elephants and their attendants; and useful as the venerable pachyderms were subsequently, when game was on foot, they did yeoman's service even from the first, by lending to the party that modicum of prestige which compasses so many objects in eastern countries.

Very early the following morning, my companions continued

their way in high spirits towards the distant tiger-covers they were bound for; while I, tentless and alone, had to think only of posting back to barracks. Just then, my faithful friend and follower, Salah-ud-Din, stepped upon the patch of moon-light which surrounded the spot where I sat; and it was easy to see from his air that he had something great to tell. A remarkable fellow in his way was this Salah-ud-Din. The only son of a regimental Munshi, he had attached himself to me almost from the first day of my joining, as pertinaciously as if I had been a candidate for the Staff Corps, and therefore likely to be able some time or other to make a Rasaldar or a Deputy Collector of him, which I was not. As it was, the advantages of the intimacy lay nearly all with me: for I found him a far more pleasant teacher of his native languages than his old father the Munshi, who took snuff with an avidity not conducive to cleanliness, and had moreover a habit of chewing incessantly a mixture of unknown and nasty condiments. Salah-ud-Din's lessons were imparted rather secretly and reluctantly. A Moslem of Moslems, he insisted on the privilege claimed by every follower of the Prophet of being a *sipahi*, or soldier born; and all that one had to do to make him twirl his mustachios and scowl was to hint that a Munshi's son must needs be a Munshi too. His father, like many another wise men, had a foolish, albeit very strong-minded, wife. This good lady rejoiced in the name of Zubdat-ul-Nisa, or the 'cream of womankind'; and though living in a harem—if the term can be given to an area of fifty square yards, enclosed with walls of mud, and tenanted only by herself and a few domestics—ruled her husband as completely, and knew the affairs of her neighbours as thoroughly, as if she had dwelt on the top of the great mosque itself. Tracing her descent, to her own satisfaction at least, to Tipu Sultàn, the dream of her life was to see her son reviving the military associations thus created, instead of merely continuing the old paternal line of bookmen. Scholars she thought very little of indeed; and the first and last time her husband had ventured to try conclusions with her was when he had set his heart on introducing the hope of their house to some useful career. The opportunities of doing so which the Hyderabad government affords to its subjects are such as do it much credit. Apart from the military and civil services proper of the Nizam, which are supplied chiefly, by natives of the country itself, there is a Medical School, where numbers of youths of respectable families are educated up to a high standard of qualification as surgeons and doctors of medicine; also an Engineering College, which is designed to do for the young men of Hyderabad what the institution at Cooper's Hill is doing for those of our own country. But the 'cream of womankind,' like Rob Roy, looked down upon

engineers as "mere mechanical persons;" and upon doctors as even worse than Munshis: and so it was decreed that poor Salah-ud-Din should spend the golden years of his youth in flying kites from the housetop; breeding pigeons; swaggering about with his turban cocked on one side of his head, and a dagger or two in his belt; training fighting cocks; patronizing *râch* girls, as the glee-maidens or 'sweet-singers' of this country are termed, and in other similar pursuits which have been supposed to adorn the character of a gentleman in other quarters of the globe than the Deccan. Indeed his mother had objected even to his being taught to read; for her theory was that a man who knows he can master any subject he likes at any time, simply by referring to a book about it, will never take the trouble practically to inform himself about anything as he goes along! So far as this went, however, her views were not carried out, her son's naturally active mind having served to make a capital Persian scholar of him, in spite of all that could be said. The end of it all, alas, was this. By dint of much scheming, and after many an offering to her favourite saints, *Zubdat-ul-Nisâ* had compassed the lad's marriage into the family of a great man in the city of Hyderabad. More than a week had been spent in celebrating the event with entertainments and various forms of rejoicings; the inevitable effect of which would be to steep the poor old Munshi in debt and poverty for the remainder of his days. Just as all was supposed to be happily terminating with a display of fire-works on a grander scale than ever, a badly-made rocket sailed straight into the bridegroom's face, and injured him so that he died shortly afterwards.

Nothing had been seen of Salah-ud-Din during our sojourn of the day before in the mango-grove. He had ridden out with us to camp, and then disappeared; to display, as we thought, his handsome form, lithe Marhatta pony, and new leopard-skin boots to such admirers as might be forthcoming in the adjoining village. But whatever he may have been doing with himself, he had certainly picked up a bit of information which had eluded the inquiries of all the men who had been scouring that very piece of country to procure news of tiger for us during the better part of the last fortnight. The reticence displayed by a whole country-side in India is sometimes very remarkable. One would expect people to be only too glad to aid in destroying savage beasts which thin their herds, and often make the forest paths unsafe even for man himself. But just as the natives, as a rule, are reluctant to say anything of outrages which human robbers commit on their homesteads, for fear of suffering unknown evils at the hands of the police who would be sent to inquire into the case, so do they seem to hang back from bringing down parties of sportsmen on their neighbourhood, at all events

when such parties consist of gentlemen not personally known to them. Perhaps it is that they fear being compelled to leave their fields, and officiate for whole days as beaters, perhaps that they have a strong natural objection to their favourite heifers being carried off, even on payment, and tied up at nightfall in the open, to act as lures to the tiger. But whatever the explanation may be, the fact of their reluctance to help is often illustrated. The present was a case in point; and it equally served to show how difficult it is to obtain intelligence in India, when the people who are in possession of it would prefer its not reaching our ears. Our own paid scouts had been roaming the country for days without learning what Salah-ud-Din became acquainted with before he had eaten his first meal in the village; namely, that a tigress and cubs had their lair among the ravines of an adjoining hill. He never would have heard a word about it if his connection with the party of sportsmen whose tents whitened the neighbouring clump of trees had been known. But being taken merely for a passing traveller, he soon found out that the bloody deeds of the tigress were on the tongue of every old man and maiden when they met at the village well. Day was now breaking fast: and the accuracy of Salah-ud-Din's information could not be doubted when he led the way (to a patch of jungle only a couple of miles off, where the half-eaten carcase of a huge grey boar was lying. It was plain there had been a terrible fight between the boar and the tigress; for the ground showed marks of a scuffle for yards on every side. The tigress had made but one repast on her conquered foe; and several jackals stole off with a rustling noise through the long dry yellow grass as we approached the carrion. It seemed, too, as if all the vultures of the Deccan were on the move. Numbers of them were already sweeping in long steady circles round and round the spot; while others kept arriving from the four quarters of the heavens. The formidable dimensions of the pair of tusks which projected like sword-blades full six inches out of the grizzly monster's jaw made it easy to believe what a herdsman told us, namely, that the tigress herself had received a proper crippling in the fray. She was said to have been barely able, the previous afternoon, to drag herself from her lair to the pool where she had gone to drink, so deeply had her flanks been ripped. Here was a strange adventure! Had Salah-ud-Din's own proper engagements in the village the day before only admitted of his bringing us this intelligence a little earlier, it would indeed have been welcome. Even now, a messenger could easily have been found to re-call the sportsmen who had gone on. But their hopes pointed so brightly to the rarely visited districts

they were making for, that it seemed doubtful whether they would care to return. As for myself, besides being the merest novice in Indian woodcraft, I hadn't so much as a gun with me, and was due moreover at the orderly room that very forenoon. There was no course for it therefore but to mount and away ; leaving Salah-ud-Din on the spot to serve as a kind of sentinel over the tigress. During a thirty-mile ride into Cantonment there was time enough to revolve the ways and means of bagging her. One idea was to return at nightfall, and taking post on a tree or boulder near the carcase of the boar, lie in wait, rifle in hand, till she came to renew her feast. This plan is not generally a dangerous one, as far as risk of attack from the quarry is concerned ; though the sportsman is apt to fall asleep and drop from his perch. More frequently a terrified gun-bearer or other attendant, by coughing or moving just at the time when silence is most imperative, gives warning to the tiger, and so defeats the object of the watch. But at best this seemed a very poaching style of setting to work. Ere evening too news came in, first that the remnants of the boar had been carried off bodily by the village leather-dressers, to whom roast pork was a *bon-bouche* even when killed by a wild beast ; and then that the tigress herself had shifted her quarters, and gone into hospital, as it were, in some fastness not as yet discoverable. For several days the bulletins all ran to the same purport. The tigress had either moved off to a different locality altogether, or had grown so cowed by the injuries inflicted on her by the boar that she had gone in for a little fasting and seclusion. She could hardly have died without the vultures revealing the spot where she lay ; and as she was scarcely likely to have migrated while her wounds were still fresh, I was quite prepared for the news sent in after a few days, to the effect that she was falling as briskly as ever again on the cows and young buffaloes of the surrounding hamlets. There was no need therefore to resort to the expedient which is necessary when the presence of a tiger in any particular locality is merely suspected, and his whereabouts is unknown, namely, to tether some poor calf or goat overnight near his supposed haunts, so as to lure him into betraying his existence by a kill. In this case the kills were being made to our hand almost every day, and it only remained to take the field. For all but the hardiest and most experienced sportsmen, to stalk tigers on foot is to court nearly certain death. The game may be carried on for a long time it is true ; but sooner or later the end is pretty sure to come. Tigers are of diverse moods and tempers, as are men. There is the man-eater, who "smelleth the battle afar off," and comes on with a roar as of victory, the moment he spies his foe. And there is the arrant coward or cur, which, even after a

couple of bullets have played thud on his ribs or scapula, has no pluck for a charge. But, generally speaking, the tiger that has been wounded will charge home with appalling effect. Two or three stout-hearted sportsmen, standing shoulder to shoulder, may, and do, doubtless, even then very often set all the brute's fury and agility at defiance, and lay him dead at their feet, perhaps just at the moment when the first puff of his hot and carrion-tainted breath has come surging against the face of his destined victim. But when the sportsman is alone, or attended only by a native gun-bearer—though these are often very staunch—the chances against him and in favour of the tiger are enormously increased, no matter how iron his nerve and unerring his aim. Even supposing him to have met the monster foot to foot, and sent him roaring back among the dense brushwood, with a Jacob's shell exploded somewhere among his muscles, the crowning peril has yet to be faced, in following him up through the tangled labyrinth of jungle. This is often so thick, that at the very moment when one may be concluding that his prey, if hit at all, must have made good his retreat, he may in reality be crouching less than ten yards off, and poising himself for his last and fatal spring. Some of the best Deccan sportsmen deliver their first attack on foot, and then finish the business from the back of an elephant. This greatly lessens the risk of accident; though it must always be held a source of danger for any one to walk up to and fire at a tiger. Doing the work on foot affords a fine test and exercise, no doubt, of some of manhood's rarest powers. But when those powers are plainly undeveloped, or have grown rusty from disuse, the attempt seems mere fool-hardiness, such as savours of ignorance rather than of true courage.

A couple of elephants were easily procured and sent out to the care of Salah-ud-Din. One of them was but a baggage-animal, and looked old and wicked enough to have carried the Patriarch Job. The other was a female called *Chalan-piari*, or 'she of the delectable paces.' There is as much difference among elephants as among horses in this matter of paces. A day's journey on a rough elephant is a punishment adequate for any minor offence. A sweet-paced one like *Chalan-piari* bowls over the ground both smoothly and smartly. Very commonly too the rougher an elephant's paces the slower his speed, so that the duration of the penance is in the ratio of its severity.

The scene of action could be easily reached by following for a certain distance a tolerable highway over which Her Majesty's mails were then conveyed between Hyderabad and the nearest point on the line of railway. For this special service a primitive kind of mail-cart was maintained; a mere box rudely fastened to a couple of wheels, and drawn by a single horse or pony. The

native who drove the cart was the only human burden which it was designed to carry ; but there was room beside him for one passenger, provided the latter wasn't a stout one. Such are the attractions of rapid locomotion, even when it is a case almost of '*cita mors venit, aut victoria laeta*,' that travellers of the hardier kind, when passing between Hyderabad and the distant railway station, were fain to pay their £5 for the privilege of being half-flayed by the sun, and bumped and excoriated all over, during a two hundred mile ride on the mail-cart, instead of taking the more luxurious though far slower conveyance which was provided for passenger traffic, and which consisted of a bullock-coach not unlike a small covered four-poster set on wheels. All this is changed now. Like many better conveyances, the mail-carts, bullock-coaches, roadsters, riding-camels, and palanquins of the Nizam's capital have all been fairly knocked off the road by a railway which at last connects that city with the rest of the world. This has been constructed entirely at the expense of the native Government, to which of course it is considered to belong. It is managed by ourselves though for all that, exactly as if it were our own. In the case of a country like India, there is this drawback to railway-travelling, that it gives us but small opportunities of increasing our scanty knowledge of the people. Every country has its pulse, if we could but succeed in laying the finger on it. India has many pulses, beating very varied measures, and telling sometimes of tranquillity and plenty, but oftener, it is to be feared, of famine, mutiny, and insurrection, or even possibly of some mighty crusade, before which, if only it could be developed, the foreigner must go down like flax before the fire. Few had a better chance of feeling those pulsations and reading those signs, than the traveller of former days ; who, in covering every hundred miles, would pitch his tent beside at least half-a-dozen separate towns or villages, halting for a day or two among their people, mingling with and learning something from all. But in these times a man may traverse the length and breadth of India by rail without gleaning much information about the tracts passed through, save that they are all alike uncomfortably warm, and that the table is well-served or ill in this railway refreshment-room or that ! The very mishaps and adventures of the old modes of travelling—the broken coach, or mutinous palanquin-bearers, or foundered nag—served to throw one on the people in ways productive of good-feeling at the time, and kindly memories ever afterwards. But as for a railway accident, when that occurs, we all know there is small real help for the sufferers till a special train arrives on the spot, charged with a flying brigade from the nearest college of surgeons ; whose kindly offices with amputating saw and trephine hardly belong to that class of experiences which

like *Æneas* and his companions, we shall one day love to look back upon. In 1869, however, the Hyderabad mail-cart was still on the road, and started from the Secunderabad post office at seven o'clock every morning. A frail thing it certainly seemed to take one's seat upon; but it was better than it looked. Nothing could be less like a mail-coachman than the wiry sprawling "brown brother" by whose side the adventurous traveller would find himself seated on jumping on the cart. But the fellow knew his business for all that: and queer as he would have looked and felt behind a team of English posters, the best coachman in England would have felt equally at fault had he been set to take the Hyderabad mail-cart its first forty miles towards Sholapur, with a whip that worked on the flail principle, and harness much eked out with rope or string. Each animal that was put to seemed to have a peculiar nature of its own, the ins-and-outs of which had evidently been stored in the memory of the driver. One needed only a jerk of the bit to start him like a race-horse, and would stop dead if he felt the whip. Another had to be dragged along the first few hundred yards by means of a haul-rope hitched round one of his fore-pasterns. With this old screw again—a scarred Rosinante from the ranks of the Horse Artillery—it was this simple programme, to keep at him with the flail from start to finish; the only difficulty being that whenever the driver had to sound his bugle, in order to clear the way, the intelligent quadruped would rightly judge that whip and bugle could not be plied at one and the same time, and so would come to a sudden halt. His successor perhaps would be a varmint Deccan pony, with this as his idiosyncrasy, that if he was allowed to walk for a bit, and humoured with a stinger from the double-thong just on gaining a certain bridge or tree, off he would dart, and slack not his speed for bog or brae till his stage was done. The heat grew intense as the forenoon wore on. It was like riding by the side of Phœbus Apollo in the very chariot of the sun. The pace was good enough, or at all events the motion violent enough, to serve the illusion; and occasionally a cloud of sand, scourged by the wind into the form of a whirling pyramid, would race yard for yard alongside of the car, until a fresh gust from some other quarter would drive its scorching particles right into our faces. As long as the motion continued, all this was bearable enough, with the help of a wet sheet hung loosely round the face and body. This mitigated the heat of the wind, and, rapidly drying, produced a sensible effect on the temperature at the same time. But as often as a stoppage occurred at one of the wayside hovels where the relays were kept, the current of life itself seemed to come suddenly to a stand-still along with the cart; and the sensation on the whole was as if we had pulled up at the

main entrance of Tartarus. Owing to an accident caused by the horse on one occasion shying at a bridge, and diving headlong into the ravine below, it was nearly noon ere the spot was reached where a pony was waiting under Salah-ud-Din's care to carry me across country the rest of the way. A short ride brought us to the mango-grove where our camp of a few days before had stood. No tent had been sent out this time; and the only shelter obtainable, besides that of the trees themselves, was such as was to be found on the lee-side of a curious piece of parti-coloured wall standing all alone on the margin of the grove. This was one of those open-air places of worship called *Eedgahs* which the Muhammadans love to rear in the environs of every town or village where they dwell. Dressed in their best clothes, they congregate round them in multitudes on certain religious feast-days or holidays; unite together in religious exercises; and then disperse to their ordinary avocations. Unlike the *Masjid*, or mosque, the *Eedgah* presents but limited room for the display of architectural richness or beauty, further than being pointed at the top, like a Gothic arch, and surmounted with minarets. It varies in size and character according to the means of the communities erecting it. But its design is commonly the same; namely, a roofless wall pointing silently heaven-ward in the solitary place, like a finger held up by Nature's own self to raise men's thoughts to spiritual things.

Salah-ud-Din's budget of news was of a mixed kind. There was no doubt about the tigress. A calf which had been picqueted out the evening before as a bait, had been pounced upon and half-eaten during the night. But it had turned out to be a myth about the cubs; or at all events if they had ever existed at all, which was doubtful, the villagers had managed to dispose of them. Worst of all, *Chalan Piari* had been suddenly seized with illness of some kind, and was unfit to be moved from her picquets. This reduced us to the old baggager, of whose manners in the presence of a tiger there were different accounts. There being no help for it, however, the *howdah* was bound on his back, the *mahout*, or keeper, took his proper post astride his neck, with a toe bearing on the root of each ear, while Salah-ud-Din and myself climbed into our places, and set off to commence our beat. Well in advance of the elephant ran a few pre-historic specimens of humanity, who had volunteered their services; sable aborigines and born hunters, to whom might almost be applied the designation of 'wild men of the woods.' These belonged to certain tribes which still linger in the more mountainous parts of India; having had to give way step by step before the numerous ethnological waves that have swept over the country since their time. In Central India they are known

as Gonds; in Western India as Bhils; and in the Nizam's territory chiefly as Kulis. All present the common characteristics of extremely dark skins, an absence of clothing such as would edify Carlyle, spare frames, and marvellous powers of endurance. They are evidently children of the soil. The Muhammadans, and even large classes of the Hindus, seek as naturally as we do for some protection, at all events for the head, when exposed to the sun's rays. Not so the *Kuli*, whose closely-shaven crown is to be seen glistening in the sun like a ball of burnished iron or ebony on the very hottest days of summer. Our *Kulis* were armed with iron spears and hatchets; also with a few matchlocks of uncouth construction. Their leader's full length portrait would form a telling frontispiece for Darwin's next lucubration. In his way he was a hero. A scar under one eye and down his cheek and breast still told of a hand to hand contest with a panther, in which he had come off victorious with only his own rude weapons to aid him. Few Europeans would have recovered, after receiving such a mauling as he had. A blithe rollicking little savage he was; without a pound of spare flesh for wild beast to lay hold of him by. The end of his scanty loin-cloth formed behind no bad substitute for a small scut or tail; and indeed he wanted only a pair of horns to make him resemble a veritable silvan imp or satyr, as he bounded through the wilds, with his sandals in one hand, and a long matchlock in the other. A body of foot composed of very different materials from the *Kulis* brought up the rear, namely, a lot of unwilling villagers, who had been mustered as beaters, and whose only thought was how to secure their day's wages without incurring too much danger. They carried drums, horns, and other discord-making articles, with which to urge a dogged tiger into facing his last enemy, man. The country became thicker and thicker as we proceeded; and presented exactly the appearance which sportsmen describe by the term *tigerish*. At last a number of dingy specks were seen flitting about among the clouds on the far horizon, just over a range of low hills. These were the vultures, whose presence surely marked the spot where the kill had occurred, and close to which in all probability the sated tigress was now sleeping off the effects of her meal. Between us and the hills, there stretched a perfect sea of low cocoanut palm jungle, broken in some places by piles of gray boulders, in others by clumps of forest trees. After some time it was necessary to dismount from the elephant, and leave him with the beaters in a concealed spot, lest the tigress should see him from her lair, and steal away into the boundless jungle which skirted the hills on the further side. After a good deal of scrambling, we found ourselves in a broad and tolerably open water-course or ravine which lay at the base

of the hills. Nim-trees and clusters of custard-apple bushes, interspersed with boulders, occupied the bottom of the ravine; and thanks to their shade several pools of rain-water were still standing among the rocks. Close to one of these, a tiger had evidently been rolling and disporting itself quite recently. Not only were the foot-prints visible on the wet gravel, but tufts or flakes of the beast's hair still adhered in several places to the stones. Beside a small copse of thorns lay the remains of the poor calf. The tigress had charged it with such *elan* that the rope with which the creature had been tied by the neck to a tree had snapped in two, and the bait had been dragged to some distance. A couple of *Kuli* scouts who had been watching the spot from their perch on the trees now crept cautiously up to us, and pointed with bated breath but much energy of gesticulation to a chaos of boulders, almost opposite where we stood, as the very penetralia of the tigress. To drive her from her fastness, and turn her into the ravine was obviously the game to play, and a difficult one too, since the whole hill consisted of rocks piled upon rocks, and forming natural galleries or tunnels, which it was easy to guess had their outlets on both sides of the range. Bringing up the elephant again, and taking post on his back behind the shelter of a rock as big as a barn which pretty well commanded the ravine, we sent the beaters by a long detour into the jungle on the further side of the hills, with orders to beat through it towards our ambuscade. After a time the first notes of their discord rose on the breeze—though yet perhaps a couple of miles off. Presently deer and antelope began to flit past us; and every little hare that ran in its fright almost against the elephant's feet made the heart go pit-a-pat. Most of the *Kulis* were with the beaters. Others, all expectancy, had climbed upon trees, ready to signal to us the moment the tigress stirred. But alas, the din of the drums and horns, mingled with the shouts of the beaters themselves, was coming nearer and nearer; and as yet the only thing that had moved on the face of the hill was a beautiful little white owl, which had once or twice flown dreamily out of its cavern, only to flit back again, after sending the heart towards the mouth, and the fore-finger towards the trigger. At last the beaters, making the welkin ring again with their voices, fairly reached and topped the crest of the hill; and the old elephant, who had till now stood steady as a mummy, began to thrill and vibrate with excitement when he caught sight of them swarming like skirmishers down our side of the ravine. Evidently the tigress had either stolen away, or, knowing the advantages of a good position, was bent on keeping it. A few rude fireworks were sent whizzing into the interior of the hill, with-

out dislodging anything more formidable than our friend the little white owl. The beat had failed, and there was nothing for it but to draw off our forces and retire. With five or six elephants and a legion of beaters, something might still have been done. But even the few beaters we had were now whining for their day's wage, and in fact beginning to disappear without it, rather than run the risk of a fresh beat being ordered.

Less than a mile off, was a fine natural well. What with the shade of an enormous banian-tree, the roots of which embraced it on every side, and a dense copse of bamboos in which it was imbedded, the 'fell season of the burning dog-star'* assailed it in vain. A favourite spot it was among the rustics for miles around, to resort to for their mid-day siesta, along with their bullocks wearied with the plough. This, however, had been put a stop to for the time by the dangerous proximity of the tigress; and on our making for the spot, and dismounting to rest, no one was found in possession except an old Hindu, who had charge of a few tobacco-fields irrigated from the well. Here the grievous discovery was made that the luncheon-basket had been left behind at the *Eedgah*, a trying enough mishap in most circumstances, but doubly so after a long ride on an Indian mail-cart in April, and a beat for tiger during the hottest hours of the day. As luck would have it, the water in the well was excellent, and not only that, but when a gourd was let down to fetch up a draught of it, out flew a number of blue pigeons which had built their nests on the sides of the well. The next time the gourd was lowered, Salah-ud-Din took post a short distance off, with a double-barrelled gun at his shoulder, and, pigeons flying out as before, his right and left brought down as many as yielded us an excellent meal. So fat were they as to seem, when roasted, as if they had been well larded with butter. Blessings on the Deccan well, which thus afforded to two wearied sportsmen a capital luncheon of roast pigeon, in addition to its own proper supplies! Fish too it could have yielded, had we asked it; for peering into its depths we saw numbers of fine *murrel*—the Indian carp—swimming placidly in the water. The fountain of Bandusia never did so much, we'll be bound, for Horace; who yet offered up a kid in its honour, besides 'marrying it to immortal numbers,' and making it famous for ever among fountains. The shooting of the pigeons had greatly disquieted the soul of the old Hindu. But when he saw how hungry we were, his grim features relaxed; and we were able with his help to concoct for ourselves a refreshing drink in the form of a mixture of milk and water, with half a tea-spoonful of salt added. Physic! we think we hear

* "Flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ." Hor.

some one exclaim, whose flask of *eau-de-vie* is his constant companion when out shooting. And yet it is certain that for hard work under a burning sun, stimulants do more harm than good. When the shades of night have fallen on the tents, and the sportsmen's table is spread under the 'pale, pale moon,' and the time has come, in the words of the grand old Indian hunting-song,

"To tell of the chases we have shared.
And the tusks that we have won,"

then pour if you will your libations to the rosy god. But when the sun is in the heavens, and the rifle or the hog-spear in the hunter's hand, the oftener a man applies himself to his flask the flabbier and thirstier will he grow.

By this time the afternoon was fast verging towards evening. Looked at from our depth of shade, the whole jungle seemed literally bathed in floods of sunshine. And yet the fresh life which began to stir among the four-footed and feathered inhabitants of the glorious foliage round about us, showed that the heat of the day was nearly over. If only a muster-roll had been made of all the living things that that foliage gave shelter to, its length would surely have astonished one. The very ground was alive with troops of large and small ants, whose movements bore a ludicrous resemblance to those of mightier hosts, as they defiled and deployed round about us. The carcase of a black scorpion, happily killed by us at the mouth of his hole, just when on the point of sitting down upon him, kept their legions in a fine ferment, in their efforts to drag it away to the common larder; until in an evil moment a crow cast his eye on the prize, and pounced upon it with a sarcastic caw. The trunk of the banian-tree again seemed to be the special hunting-ground of a couple of hideous but harmless lizards—alligators in miniature—whose colour was so exactly that of the bark that only their uplifted heads and scarlet crests distinguished them from it. In fine contrast with the Fabian tactics, or 'masterly inactivity' of the lizards, was the Light Infantry style in which numerous pairs of gray squirrels kept glancing hither and thither, now chasing one another in amorous dalliance among the branches, now making rapid excursions along the ground in quest of some tiny seed, or grain of corn. A colony of monkeys lived among the bamboos. But these, for reasons of their own, 'retired within themselves,' as philosophers call it, the moment they saw us, as completely as if they had been Cockneys whom we had met at a *table d'hôte* abroad. Perhaps their prejudices had been offended by the shooting of the pigeons. At all events they declined to fraternise. The birds had been lying hushed all the afternoon under the extreme heat, with the exception only of the mango-bird, who had been making his

harsh and monotonous note resound over the plain so incessantly that we longed to pepper him. The fierier the atmosphere, the louder his call. From one end of the dog-days to the other, when mangoes are ripening, and the air is a-glow with heat, his is the loudest of all nature's many voices. Hence, as may be imagined, he is no favorite, among our countrymen at least. Now, however, there seemed to be a general awaking among the feathered tribes; and the whole air was soon filled with their voices, more especially those of different varieties of doves. The little tin flageolets of the herd-boys too began to make a quiet and pleasing music of their own on every side, as the goats and cattle that had been browsing all day in the jungle were being driven home a good deal earlier than usual for fear of the tigress. All these were signs that we had lingered long enough where we were, unless we intended spending the night there; so mustering the *Kulis*, who had hovered all the time within call, we set off on the homeward track. Our course lay across the jungle which the beaters had traversed with their drums only a few hours before. We had just entered it, when a brace of peacocks, first one, then the other, started with a whirring sound almost under the elephant's feet. The next moment, a rush among the *Kulis* warned us that the tigress herself was on foot. A magnificent animal she was, long and gaunt, but royal-looking every inch; with her blood-red chaps wide open, and flecked with foam; and her brightly-marked skin flashing back the evening sun—truly a

“Fierce thing, replete with too much rage.”

Her panting sides and protruded tongue showed that she had been travelling; and as her head when first seen was pointed towards the very rocks we had at first tried to dislodge her from, it was probable she had been disturbed by the beaters in the first instance; had managed then to steal away unperceived to some distant cover, and was now returning to her lair. But, however this may have been, she changed her course the moment she saw us; and was only occasionally visible indeed, as she held straight away from us through the jungle. A strange frenzy seemed to take possession of the elephant, the moment his cunning little eye caught a glance of her; and the *howdah* rose and fell with his ungainly motions, like a boat on an angry loch, as he rushed headlong in her wake. In spite of all that could be done by the *mahout*, he kept plunging along, making it impossible for any one in the *howdah* to raise a rifle to the shoulder, far less take aim. Had we known the brute's history, we might have been contented to let him try, like the Frenchman and the fox, to catch the tigress himself. From once having been severely punished by a wounded tiger, which he had finally succeeded in pounding to

death with his feet, he had contracted, it appeared, quite a rage for single combats, and never missed an opportunity of closing with a tiger tooth and nail. This was what had led to his being degraded to the rank of a baggager, for in point of courage he was all that could be desired. Having no idea, however, what his tactics were, save that he was bidding fair to jolt us out of the *howdah*, and thinking a random shot better than no shot at all, we opened fire without attempting to take aim. One of our shells chanced to strike and explode against a rock she happened to be passing at the time. In a moment she seemed to realise the position ; and replying with a hoarse roar to the crack of the rifle, looked unutterable things at us for a moment, then quickened her pace, and was seen no more. As for the elephant, his tantrums subsided as soon as his mortal enemy was out of his sight ; and he became quite douce again and obedient to his keeper. But he was evidently not to be trusted ; so dismounting from his back, and using him only as a beater, we explored the jungle on foot, till it was too dark to tell the difference between a tigress and a ghost. Vain was all our labour ; and there was nothing for it but to distribute a supply of powder and bullets among the *Kulis*, wish them and their matchlocks better luck than our's, and return with all haste to Secunderabad.

ART. II.—BRITISH BURMAH IN 1874-1875.

*Report on the Administration of British Burmah in the Year 1874-5.**

IT would be hard to estimate the precise amount of influence Government is capable of exercising by the many coloured miscellanies which annually emerge from our Indian Secretariats. They constitute a literature quite unique of its kind, and one which latterly has attained a scope and significance that could never have been contemplated by its originators. Professedly they are reports of an entirely official character submitted to the Supreme Government by its chief subordinate authorities on the various subjects incidental to their special or local administration. They thus include every conceivable variety of topic, from the last frontier war to the cultivation of cinnamon and cinchona. So long as their distribution was confined to a few desultory heads of departments, it was obvious that ordinary opinion could be little influenced or interfered with. Of late years, however, the strength and serviceability of such an instrument has been partially realised. "By authority" publications are annually increasing both in number and circulation; and it is not difficult to prognosticate that, sooner or later, they will supplant independent investigation and become the sole agencies for the propounding and expounding of all large political facts. With this great machinery in perfect gear it is plain what control the executive will possess over the expression and direction of public sentiment. The supply and arrangement of premisses being in its hands, all that is required is some acquaintance with the rules of inductive ratiocination. Given the postulates, our Indian policy ought ever to be inexpugnable.

It would be out of place to discuss the desirability of such a consummation; there can be little doubt it would be vastly accelerated were Government inclined to adopt thoroughly and consistently its new rôle of Public Intelligencer, and pay some attention to the style and general attractiveness of its feuilletons. The authors of these for the most part ignore the change of auditory and environment, and maintain the ordinary etiolated style of dull officialism, as if they were still addressing a few one-eyed gentlemen at Calcutta and not the whole vast Indian public. Their productions consist generally of a formless, tuneless mass of facts and figures, where everything is sacrificed in deference to a few arbitrary canons of classification and conciseness. Lord Lytton

* Rangoon: Printed at the Government Press.

though he would scarcely expect to find any of his "passion of purple and glory of gold" infused into the pages of a parliamentary return, would be achieving a vast æsthetic reform were he to endeavour to render departmental publications something other than a mere congeries of crude uncomely facts, harsh and unalluring to ordinary readers as

Stony names
Of shale and hornblende, rag and trap and tuff
Amygdaloid and trachyte.

Parmi les torticoles je passe pour le plus joli, and the British Burmah Secretariat has always favourably contrasted with its continental congeners. Even here, however, we find manifestations of that strange tendency to synoptical returns, instead of ordinary exegesis, which was perhaps the most peculiar characteristic of the late régime. Lord Northbrook's ideal of the highest scientific faculty appeared to consist in the compilation of a *catalogue raisonnée*; and with him the acme of educational effort was attained when the *omne scibile* could be comprised in a tabulated schedule. In the report before us it is somewhat curious to remark where this passion for condensation has landed the writer. In accordance with the requirements of the Supreme Government, it is supposed to be "a survey of the moral and material movement of the country as marked by the events and measures of the year.†" It comprehends and summarizes the various departmental reports which have appeared at intervals during the last twelve months to solace and arride those interested in the province. These reports are compiled from the divisional or district returns which are themselves an abridgement of information supplied by inferior authorities. It is somewhat of an analectic achievement to compress within 200 pages a whole year's history of a nation's life and environment; but with this a *fait accompli*, it is surely unnecessary to attempt in the preface a further epitome, which occasionally results in sheer surplusage of repetition.

There is little else to criticise in the language or arrangement of the pamphlet, which is couched in terse idiomatic English, refreshing to read after the wearisome exuberance of continental annals. The author is especially happy in the skill

To hint a fault and hesitate dislike :

perhaps the rarest accomplishment of a Secretary, when combined (as it is in this instance) with the power to bestow a sturdy buffet on a case-hardened or too obtrusive delinquent.

British Burmah, as a geographical expression, dates from the year; 1862 when Lord Dalhousie, in pursuance of the same

† A commendable caution is shown the character of the movement.
in not to specifying too particularly

massive policy which rough-hewed Oudh and the Central Provinces, welded the three divisions of Tenasserim, Arracan, and Pegu into a Chief Commissionership for Sir Arthur Phayre. Previous to this, the two former had been separately administered under the Bengal Government; whose unwieldy bulk stretched over Assam and across the Arracan and Pegu Yomas up to the Sittoung and Salween watershed, with the Irrawaddy delta as yet unconquered intervening between the two ranges. On the annexation of Pegu, however, our possession had become sufficiently homogeneous and compact to be formed into a province, stretching conterminous with the sea, about 1000 miles in length and 100 in breadth. The three original divisions have been maintained with but one modification, which accounts for their discrepancy in territorial extent.

It is curious to contrast the comparative insignificance of the role the Golden Chersonese has played in the earth's history with that of the other two great Asian peninsulas. Each is the home and stronghold of a colossal creed, but while Arabia and India are indissolubly connected with the chronicle of modern civilization, the Eastern region has remained self-centred and unknown, the battle-ground and grave of strange kingdoms and races, who appear and disappear with scarcely an echo from their existence drifting into the outer world. We are as yet wholly ignorant of the origin and condition of the multifarious peoples who inhabit the Malacca peninsula. We may broadly affirm that they emerged, at some far epoch, from the plateau of Central Asia through the various gorges of the Himalayas; we may assume their possession of certain types and features in common, and group them together under the convenient title of Indo-Chinese, but the period and order of their migrations, of the character and formation of these presumptive linguistic and social resemblances, are points which yet remain to be elucidated. The ethnographer who turned his attention to this fruitful field of exploration would be puzzled at the outset to determine its stage of national life and development. The ruins of Angkor and Vatphou, of Pagan and Tagoung would seem to hint at whole centuries of culture and dominion; on the other hand the extraordinary progress which the Western province is making under foreign laws and foreign ascendancy, contrasting so strongly with the prevailing notions of oriental decrepitude, would almost justify Ritter's opinion,* that the Burmese have scarcely emerged from barbarism, and would argue a vigour and virility of nearly American proportions. The great difficulty in the way of historical research is the comparative absence of any thing in the shape of trustworthy material. Confining our view to the

* Erdkunde, v. p 171.

valleys of the four great rivers, the Kaladan, Irawaddy, Sittoung and Salween, a dry list of proper names furnished by Ptolemy, which succeeding commentators have contorted into vocables more or less resembling Burmese appellations, is all we find till the time of Marco Polo, towards the close of the 13th century. His information also is scanty and indeterminate. We then read of a succession of Italian voyagers and Portuguese adventurers, till the visit of the Venetian merchant Caesar Frederick in 1564, who tells us of a "Brama of Toungoo far excelling the Grand Turk in "treasure and strength; with 26 crowned heads at his command "and a million and a half of fighting men." Fitch, a London trader who followed twenty years later, being the first Englishman who ever visited the country, is similarly enthusiastic, as indeed are all the travellers of the period, in describing the wealth and magnificence of the Taleing kingdom of the 16th century.* Its swift and sheer destruction is quite without precedent in ancient or modern times. Eleven years after Fitch's visit we hear of its decay; and a few years later, Purchas speaks of the Peguans as a race being half extinct. During the 17th century the very name has almost disappeared, the period being occupied with the personal adventures of Portuguese condottiers and the gradual growth and coherence of the Ava empire. In the 18th century, however, the Taleing supremacy was momentarily reasserted, to be finally crushed in 1753 by the resistless arm of Aloungpayah the hunter King. From the accession of this monarch the sequence of events has been tolerably ascertained. The East India Company was established in 1599, and 20 years afterwards an attempt was made to open trade with Burmah through Siam. The immediate result was not successful, but subsequently we hear of Dutch and English factories at Syriam, Prome, and Ava, and even so far north as Bhaman. They had all vanished however within the next fifty years, and the first English mission was sent from Madras in 1695 with the object of re-settling the first of these places. We have neither the space nor the inclination to dwell on the long series of huckstering embassies which followed this discreditable precedent. The sole redeeming point is, that our envoys found time amidst their daily modicum of indignity to give us some account of their tormentors, but the journals of Burney and Cox and Symes or even of Crawford himself scarcely compensate for a century of English shame.

It might be conjectured that some light would be thrown on the events of earlier years from native oral and documentary

* We can make some allowance for the extravagance of diction when Colonel Symes himself, who was our resident at Ava in 1794, talks of

Burmah as a magnificent and civilized empire with a population of 17 millions.

traditions, especially when it is remembered that here, as in most Indo-Chinese countries, there exists a series of court chronicles compiled by Royal authority, and carrying back a line of Burman rulers in unbroken succession to the Sakya Prince of Abhirajah Bor, of the family of Gautama the divine, who long ages ago emigrated with his followers to Ava. * They are described as consisting of an interminable catalogue of Kings, interspersed with mythical episodes, of which white elephants and magic weapons form the most conspicuous features. The customs of altering the national era and changing the metropolis, which every fourth-rate monarch indulged in, seem to be the only trustworthy events of any importance which distinguished the reigns of the former rulers. It must be acknowledged, however, that these records have never been subjected to any scientific investigation. Comparative criticism of their contents with Taleing and Shan contemporaneous MSS., would probably lay the foundation of a solid and unassailable fabric of early Burmese history; and it hardly speaks well for antiquarian enterprise that this vast store of valuable information should hitherto have been neglected, and such inconsiderable endeavours made to fill a yawning chasm in the annals of our province. In the preface to the administration report for 1869-70, we find summarised into a sufficiently readable narrative, the account furnished by a Portuguese nobleman of the adventures of his filibustering countrymen in the Malacca peninsula during the 16th and early part of the 17th century; the writer has abstained from all comment or criticism, and gets immersed in imaginary difficulties which any one moderately acquainted with the subject would readily have avoided.† The

* The present king of Ava claims the like affinity,—a marvellous genealogy having been invented for his ancestor, the peasant Oungaya of Myoukmyo, who on his accession assumed the title of Along Payah, the embryo Buddha. It may be questioned, however, whether the introduction of Buddhism found the country wholly unacquainted with Indian religious and social organization. A distinguished German philologist (Lassen *Altethnuskunde*, ii, p. 1034) supports with the weight of his authority the Indian extraction of the old Burman kings. A Burmese ordinarily spells his name "Brama," and it would almost seem as if this designation had been adopted by the new Bramian immigrants to distinguish

them from the people who have absorbed them and who were known by the names of "Man and Mieng" to their Shan, Taleing and Chinese neighbours. Dr. Mason in his work on Burma, claims similarly for the Taleings an Indian origin. He relies chiefly on the resemblance of their name to Teliuga, and on their physiognomic likeness; but omits perhaps the strongest argument in support of his theory, viz. the fact that the Peguans use words to denote the different months and days, almost identical with their continental neighbours.

† Thus at page 14 he finds it hard to understand why the King Bye-noung, should be elsewhere called Para Mantara. This is nothing but a corruption of the royal title Meng-

fact is that the only work on Burmah of any real scope and importance which has hitherto appeared, is Col. Yule's narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855. Besides comprising within its pages all the trustworthy information which his predecessors in the same field had painfully accumulated, it contains the results of inquiries made by a strikingly accurate and original observer, to whom the most complete acknowledgment is due from myself in common with every Anglo-Burmese student. His volume contrasts in every respect with the laborious production of an American author which appeared at about the same time, and which seems to have been constructed on much the same system as the immortal treatise on Chinese metaphysics commemorated through the medium of the *Pickwick Papers*. I know of no other works of any general interest. Dr. Anderson's monograph on Colonel Sladen's expedition in 1867, is extremely valuable and interesting, so long as he keeps out of the confines of that wholly hypothetical kingdom of Pong. Dr. Williams' narrative is even more specialized; and Bishop Bigandet, who is as well qualified as any one to write comprehensively on the country, has apparently expended all his literary longing in a brief pamphlet about Phoongyees, so that setting aside the flimsy publications of a few demi-vertiginous "globetrotters," the land presents almost virgin soil to the philological aspirant.

The treaty of Yandabo arrested the Avan monarchy in the very zenith of its power and prosperity. There was probably not the same amplitude of individual wealth as the old Peguan Empire displayed to its Venetian visitors, but there was a far greater extent of territory, including Assam, Cachar, Munipoor and Arracan,—regions which had never been subject to the Taleings. "With a noble mountain barrier as his frontier, 'with neighbours who only wished to be let alone, and with such 'trunk lines from end to end of his dominions as the Irawaddi, with his teak forests and his mineral riches, a world of eager 'traders to the Eastward, and the sea open in front, the king 'of Ava's dominion was a choice one, had not incurable folly 'and arrogance deprived him of his best advantages, cast down 'the barriers of his kingdom, and brought British cautionments

taragye Payah, which we find later on among the designations of the Peguan Kings, which he mistakes for proper names. The fact is that Ximi and Xemiudoo like Mengtaragye are nothing but official appellations, only Peguan instead of Burmese. All the vernacular expressions given by Fitch in his narrative,

belong exclusively to the Taleing language. The word "talapoing," which Bishop Bigandet has derived from two Pali words (*tala pat*), signifying palm leaf, is in reality a Taleing combination signifying "master of glory," almost equivalent to the Burmese expression Phoongyee, both being used to designate the religious class.

"and Custom houses within his borders." * Beyond however the loss of prestige, he had suffered no serious injury from his Kulá conquerers. We had shorn off two troublesome excrescences from the unwieldy bulk of Burman dominion,—one of them a recent conquest, the other the home of his hereditary foes,—leaving unimpaired, in all its opulent security, the spacious valley of the Irawaddy and the finest of Eastern waterways stretching up to the confines of China and Thibet. The policy of government in annexing Arracan may perhaps be explained by its vicinity to Bengal, but it is not so obvious why we determined to retain Martaban and Tenasserim, unless it was in the interest of our late Taleing auxiliaries who bitterly resented our abandonment of Pegu. It is well known that our new possessions, devastated and dispeopled as these were by years of warfare and spoliation, were at first found so unprofitable that their restoration to Ava was seriously contemplated, and the scheme was only definitely abandoned as being opposed to our proud imperial maxim of "vestigia nulla retrorsum." A brief interval of order and organization proved the wisdom of this resolve. By 1852 the population of Arracan had increased three-fold, its revenue four-fold, and Tenasserim had advanced with nearly equal strides. Meanwhile the Avan Government seems to have regarded their recent defeat simply as an incentive to fresh excesses of ruffian effrontery. It may be questioned whether any dynasty has contrived to compress within the limits of a century, a larger amount of cruelty, conspiracy and crime than the nine potentates from along Paya downward, who have occupied the throne of Amarapoora. The three successive reigns of Bhodau Payah, Phagyeedau and Tharawadi, vie with the vilest excesses of a Nero or a Caligula. It is soothing to reflect that a large proportion of these amiable princes met with a miserable end at the hands of their nearest relatives, and that a fratricidal strife has nearly exterminated the elder scions of this interesting family. The present king Moungh Lon is the son of Tharawadi by one of his inferior wives, and succeeded in deposing his brother just at the time when Lord Dalhousie's famous declaration condemned the Avan Empire to eternal obscurity and insignificance. This terrible blow has left a lasting effect; and as we have remarked before † his career, with few exceptions, has been soberhued and inoffensive. His occasional outbreaks into barbarity are the inevitable reaction from the constantly strained efforts he is making after a sham civilization, which he would define as more money and more machinery. He is the first of his family who in the least degree

* Yule, page 273.

June 25th, 1875.

† India and Ava. *Friend of India*.

recognised our real position in the country, * and affected any thing of a friendly disposition towards us. We have found him a useful agent, sufficiently amenable to the British merchant, who without any expense on our part, could just succeed in controlling an exceedingly troublesome country. It was manifestly inexpedient to detract from his utility by insisting on any petty rights of precedence or punctilio. We have deprived him of all we wanted of his dominions, and in consideration of his keeping what is left in decent order and subjection, we have never obtruded our superior might, have yielded perhaps a little weakly to his petulant pretensions, and would probably have continued for years this system of self-interested humility, had not the Margary episode induced a sudden revolution in our foreign policy.

It may be doubted whether the great Proconsul foresaw the full effects of his *coup d'état*, viz., that another ten years would find British Burmah the most prosperous and progressive of our Eastern possessions. Goldwin Smith in a recent essay on "the last Republicans of Rome" affirms his disbelief "that any nation has ever attained or ever will attain such a point of morality as to be able to govern other nations for the benefit of the governed." I question whether in view of the indisputable advantages this country has derived from our supremacy, and the free and fruitful life it has enjoyed since our annexation, he would not be inclined to regard it as an exception to his aggressive generalization. It must be allowed it has presented the most promising field for the experiment. At the outset we were welcomed as deliverers by all but the dominant race, and the latter were not slow to recognise the amenities and immunities of our rule. Once established we found everything ready to our hands: administration, revenue, and educational machinery organised at least to such a degree of excellence as to admit of our retaining them for 20 years with but trifling modifications. For the first time, moreover, in our career of Eastern empire, we came face to face with the actual people, able to wield our administrative forces undisturbed and undistorted by complex influences of caste or creed. But our preeminence of position arose from the fact of there being a complete equality of rank among our new subjects; the ancient titular distinctions of noble, merchant, and zemindar having long since disappeared, and the sole precedence recognised or asserted among this nation of peasants and artisans, being that conferred by the tenure of a Government office. The political consequences of such a social phenomenon

* Officially we are still described in the palace as "white foreigners who through the clemency and beneficence of the king occupy an obscure corner of his dominions!"

can scarcely be exaggerated. With a nobility exclusively of our nominees, and an aristocracy of our assistants, we have a weapon which served for years to shield the vile dynasty of a venturesome peasant from the wrath of an outraged people, and which though shorn of much of its gaud and gilding, should at least avail to defend our own beneficent despotism.

The growth of the country will be seen by a few statistics. Between 1855 and 1865 the revenue increased from about half a million sterling to upwards of a million, the population from a million and a quarter to nearly 2 millions and a quarter, and the trade from about 5 millions to more than ten. In the nine years which have elapsed since this summary of Sir Arthur Phayre, the revenue has increased by half a million, the population by a similar amount, while the value of trade has risen to about 15 millions. It will be worth while to examine each of these items with some little detail.

One-half the net revenue of the province is derived from the land including the capitation tax, and about nine-tenths of the land is cultivated with paddy; when we further consider that exclusive of Toungya or Joun cultivation (when the assessment is made personally not predially) there is but one system of land tenure and this of the simplest and directest form, that the tax is exceedingly light and arrears in consequence practically nil, it may be surmised that the labours of the Local Government in land administration are not abnormally severe. Bengal Collectors amid their cumbrous and complicated financial machinery will regard with envy a country which has managed to exist for half a century without any binding revenue regulations, and which, even at this stage of its development, can compress all its special legislative requirements within the compass of one brief Enactment. It must be admitted, however, that the recent Land and Revenue Act is a very pale and meagre production. Beyond supplying us with the conveniently colourless title of "landholders" and a few declaratory sections determining his status, the Act does nothing more than provide a number of pegs for others to hang regulations upon. More than half the sixty sections it contains are concerned with the decretory powers of the Chief Commissioner, and his task assuredly will be none of the lightest. Setting aside the fact that hitherto nothing has been laid down as to the nature of the tenure of land and houses situated within town and village boundaries, it is generally recognized that a large and liberal reform is required in the organisation and pay of the subordinate revenue officials. As compared with the Bombay presidency, the only other local Government where the ryotwari system nearly universally obtains, the fiscal apparatus of the

province is almost too simple to be efficient. Practically the whole duty of the assessment and collection of the revenue rests in the hands of a "thugyee" whose sole remuneration is a fixed percentage on his collections. It consists of compiling a variety of complicated rolls and registers connected with the land and capita-tion tax, to enable the district officers to prepare receipts which the thugyee has to hand to the tax-payers on their settlement of the demand. The average annual outturn of a circle may be taken as between 6 and 7,000 rupees, and the average emoluments of a thugyee at 10 per cent. on these amounts. From this sum he has to hire clerks and servants to assist him in the annual land measurement and accounts, and to escort the revenue to the Sudder treasury, frequently a great distance away. From this sum, moreover, he has to provide for the conveyance of the treasure and for any fines or deficiencies which want of accuracy or punctuality may entail. To avoid the former, when he is unable to get in the revenue in time, his general plan is to complete the Government demand, with money borrowed at exorbitant interest which weighs very heavily upon his shoulders. When we further consider thugyees are frequently regarded as responsible for the behaviour of their circles and invariably referred to in every petty administrative requirement, and hold their posts on the most precarious tenure, it must be a matter of surprise how any candidates could be found for such an onerous servitude. Formerly the position was hereditary ; it led to higher things, and carried with it considerable local distinction. Little attention was paid to accounts or qualifications, and there was always—to use an artillerist phrase—a broad margin of permissible error. At present in all the best managed districts the hereditary system has been more or less abandoned as untenable. Applicants are required to show some rudimentary knowledge of their work ; and, once appointed, are subjected to such an amount of scrutiny and supervision as to render illegal exactions almost impossible. What has been gained in efficiency, has been lost in authority ; and the thugyee of the period is generally an inexperienced and unknown youth without influence and pretension, or even hope of promotion, the higher native appointments being almost exclusively filled up by pleaders and writers from the District Courts. When it is added that there is great difficulty in obtaining even this material, it is obvious that some method of amelioration ought to be among the first results of the late enactment. A step in the right direction would be to make the various circles more uniformly manageable and compact. A still more imperative preliminary will be to effect some improvement in the pay and position of the "Yualugyee," the village head man. This unfortunate being at present is the *âme damnée* of the thugyee on the one hand and the police

on the other. Here we have none of the complicated village mechanism which exists in neighbouring presidencies, and one solitary individual has to play the various parts and discharge the various duties which the "Patel" and "Koolkurnie" the watchman and "Mhar" fulfil in Bombay. For these services he receives a salary varying from nothing at all (if he is over sixty) to the munificent maximum of 5 Rupees per annum. It consists in exemption from the capitation tax, and this is absolutely all the remuneration allowed. It may be thought that his functions are as imaginary as they are multifarious. As a police officer, he and the Yazawut Goung (a paid constable whose division generally corresponds with the "teik" of the thugyee), do all the minor criminal work of the district. They report crime, arrest offenders, convey them to the nearest station, and are in fact absolutely indispensable in a country where there is only one regular policeman to every 13 miles of territory. In revenue matters he is the sole guide and assistant of the thugyee, with all the labour this denotes and expresses, and generally speaking he constitutes the last link in the lengthy chain, the last boundary mark in the toilsome road which separates Government from the governed, the ryot from his ruler,

Too great to appease, too high to appeal, too far to call.

His services as a buffer alone deserve substantial recognition. He tempers the crude ungenial force of Government mandates and messages, adjusts their impact, and regulates their action, and when it is further considered that he is invariably regarded by every official who visits his village as sworn henchman and purveyor for the time being, it is sufficiently apparent that we are not justified in exacting such an excess of unremunerated exertion. Most Yualugyees are landholders, and like their brethren in Bombay, should be allowed to cultivate a certain amount of land free of all charge. A prompt order to this effect besides being a tardy acknowledgment of their services, would cause a vast improvement in a class of men yearly becoming less efficient and respectable.*

By the time these preliminaries have been successfully negotiated, the peasantry may have become sufficiently enlightened to recognise the advantages of long leases over the clumsy and troublesome practice of annual remeasurements. At present, however, they have little to gain by the change. Their rent is light and rarely increased, they obtain liberal remission for accidents to crops or cattle, and when the year is out, are able to shift to fresh fields and new pastures without any risk or responsibility attaching from their old demesne. The labours of the Revenue Survey will probably put an end to this indifference. This

* The Sanitary Commissioner has him an unpaid registrar of births, lately swooped down, constituting marriages, and deaths.

department, after working for years on the most curiously ill-contrived of conjoint systems, has been recently organised afresh, and though not characterized by any startling rapidity of results, will eventually, it is expected, succeed in obtaining some permanent and reliable statistics. When yearly cultivators begin to find the Government demand more exactly proportioned to the net profits they derive from its land, and to realize that a rise in these will invariably occasion a rise in their taxation, they will regard with more interest the benefits of quinquennial assessment; till then the thugyees would be wise in not expecting any large decrease in their geometric drudgery.

I have stated before that rice cultivation engrosses about nine-tenths of the occupied area of the province; and in spite of the efforts of Government, it is more and more spreading to the exclusion of other descriptions of cereals. During the last few years there has been a considerable falling off in the production of cotton, sessamum and tobacco; and there seems but little chance of their ever being able to compete successfully with the superior attractiveness of paddy. This has increased in extent of acreage from about one million and a half in 1865 to more than two million and a quarter during the year under review. Despite the enormous foreign demand, the general average of price has remained nearly the same as in 1867-8; while the value of wheat, sugar, and every kind of oilseed, has increased considerably since that date.*

The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, notwithstanding the scanty and unscientific apparatus at their command, there can be no doubt the people thoroughly understand the cultivation of their food staple. According to our Report "every Burman in the interior is a cultivator." He is so potentially though not positively, agriculturists forming only one-fifth of the whole population. Any rustic of ten or eleven years old could distinguish, in an unassorted heap of grain, and give you the names of all the commonest of the thirty odd varieties of rice which to the uninitiated appear more or less exactly alike in colour, shape and texture. The large profits recently obtained in the trade have greatly intensified the general interest in the cereal; and cultivators are naturally unwilling to incur the additional risk, toil and attention which foreign plants, or even foreign varieties of their own plant, would probably require. The Burmese are always content with a single annual crop, corresponding with the *amun ropa* of Bengal. It is sown in April, transplanted about August, and reaped in

* The statistics furnished for this year (1867) can scarcely be relied on, and it is probable that the price of rice was at least 4 annas per maund of 80 lbs less than at present. As an instance of

inaccuracy, statement E. makes wood-oil only Rs. 2-8 per maund, the next year's quotation being Rs. 15. So too tobacco is set down at Rs. 17-8 while in 1869 it is only Rs. 11-8.

November and December. Their land is opulent in its yield, requires little labour, and no artificial stimulus beyond the ash of the past year's stubble which is burnt down and worked into the soil. Year after year without a rest, the heavy rains and this primitive manure are all that is needed to ensure an abundant harvest; and Sir Arthur Phayre has expressed his doubt, whether any so-called improvement of tillage would materially increase the crop or permanently benefit the soil.

The present pamphlet gives the details of a measure recently introduced, which will work more good to the inhabitants than any amount of experimentalising with Carolina paddy or Manilla tobacco. Cattle disease and inundation are the two persistent foes which prevent the deltaic peasant from enjoying a complete sublunary "Naykban." From 1866, when 100,000 head of cattle were lost within eighteen months, to the year under report, when 11,661 died in a single district, hoven dysentery and the foot and mouth disease annually consume a host of patient uncomplaining victims. In February 1874 a veterinary surgeon was specially appointed to investigate the Irawaddy districts; and according to his statement most of the loss arises from preventible causes. A school has accordingly been established in Rangoon, where a few selected youths have been specially prepared in veterinary science; and it is hoped that "after a minute study of the osteology of the ox" they will be able to cope with the epidemics which annually ravage the farms of their fellow countrymen.

The second evil is not so easily and inexpensively dealt with. Embankment works have hitherto been found the only efficacious remedy against riverine floods, and fence in the Irawaddy for more than 100 miles on its western bank. I shall reserve for another occasion a sketch of by far the most important engineering work of the province; and confine myself at present to examining the results, so far as they bear upon the vexed problem of population, of the second item I proposed before examining.

Hitherto the central fact which has regulated the work of our administration policy is the disproportion of landholders to land, the disparity of territory to inhabitants. *Prima facie* it would appear absurd to predicate this of a Government which taxes its subjects to twice the extent of other Indian dependencies, and continues levying a capitation tax towards the close of the nineteenth century. The defendants of this fiscal anomaly assert that it is ancient and customary (which is doubtful), that it is easily collected (and they might add easily avoided), and that it is maintained in Massachusetts.* On the other hand, besides having all the

*Vide Mr. Ireland's report to the Commissioner of Arracan, 1871.

theoretical defects of being unequal in incidence, direct in pressure, and inquisitorial in character, it must operate as a direct discouragement to population, a married man having to pay just twice as much as a bachelor. This alone would render its abolition advisable. Our rulers, however, have uniformly proceeded upon the mistaken notion, that liberality as a landlord atones for all fiscal imperfections. It has fancied its tenantry could under existing conditions be indefinitely increased, that there was virtually no competition for its property, and that consequently the land revenue should consistently be sacrificed to increase the proceeds of the capitation tax. As a district officer has remarked, it may be said to bribe people to take up lands.* To begin with, it allows the new-comer total exemption from all rent and taxes for a certain period to enable him to clear his grant. At the expiration of that time, it levies a rent 20 per cent. lower than elsewhere and charges him only 2 annas an acre for land he may leave fallow. Besides this the settler gets generous allowance for failure in crops and cattle; and can, at any time, avail himself of 5 or 10 years' settlement under exceeding liberal terms.

Sooner or later it must be realized as the effect of this prodigality, that there is at present but a narrow space between the actual and potential margin of profitable cultivation. Such a statement as that which appeared in the Report for 1873, that there are 40,000 square miles of unoccupied spare land—waste only in the sense that there is no one to till them—is, to say the least, “a vault through the loose and large,” a rhetorical floriture which could scarcely have been intended for any rigid inquisition. It is on the face of it paradoxical that two million acres of affluent, available, and easily accessible land should be offered in vain to the teeming straitened masses of China and Bengal, who annually migrate in a steady shoal to the more remote and unpromising fields of California and Guiana. Chinese artisans and excise farmers, Chittagong operatives and Bengalee tradesmen are at work in every district, showing that the road is sufficiently known and our resources sufficiently scrutinised. That their countrymen do not follow in larger numbers would at least afford a presumption that we somewhat over estimate the incidental means of attraction.

I will glance at another *a priori* argument before entering into solidified statistics. The Burmese form a community as purely agrarian by instincts and education as any of our Indian nationalities, and we might expect the ratio of actual cultivators to be larger among them than elsewhere, considering the plethora of paddy land assumed to be at their disposal. Yet what are the real proportions? They will best be seen by the following table which

* Mr. Ireland in the same report.

is borrowed from Mr. W. C. Plowden's report on the last census of the N. W. P.

	Total Population (both Sexes).	Agricultural Pop.	Percentage.
Central Provinces ...	9,104,511	4,879,431	53·6
Punjab ...	17,611,498	9,683,580	55·0
Oudh ...	11,198,095	6,542,870	58·4
Berar ...	2,231,565	1,369,576	61·4
<hr/>			
* British Burmah	2,815,193	455,805	abt. 17

that is to say that while in other countries the cultivators represent more than half and even so much as three-fifths of the whole population, in Burmah they barely constitute a fifth. This preponderance of the non-agricultural classes must, be more or less unnatural and eccentric, and it remains for us to examine how it tends to self-adjustment. We will confine our glance to the Irawaddy valley which furnishes three-fifths of the whole rice produce of the country. The main river runs direct to a point about eighty miles from the sea, with lower stretches of land on either side intersected by ancillary streams. The whole of this space is annually inundated, the river rising on an average forty feet during the rains, which are more than double those of Bengal (excluding the tea tracts), and it is no exaggeration to state that an inch or so of water frequently determines whether the receding flood will leave a bright fruit laden plain or a sterile waste of ruined green. It is here of course where land is most in request. An illimitable expanse of virgin opulent soil, permeated with a net work of broad and easy waterways, converging on the two great entrepôts of central Burmah, we might imagine would long ago have attracted its complement of settlers. Yet in 1870 when the embankment works may be assumed to have begun to influence appreciably our agricultural statistics, in the three great districts of Rangoon, Bassein, and Henzada, there were only 1,489 square miles cultivated out of an available area of 11,591. In the four years which have elapsed since that date, the occupied area has increased thirty per cent., the population hardly ten per cent. The Deputy Commissioner of Henzada has forcibly described the rush for land protected by the bund. Large villages have sprung up where formerly there was nothing but

A flat malarious land of reed and rush,
and the whole aspect of the country is changed.

I have been forced to compress both my data and deductions: they at least serve to indicate the fact that increase of cultivation

* Vide Page xiii of Appendix of report for 1874-5.

does not necessarily involve increase of population, but primarily results from the artificial pre-adaptation of the existing cultivable area. Our so called irrigation works besides effecting this, tend to supply what is actually the central requirement of the country—an improvement in the means of inter-communication. At present there are altogether 850 miles of made road. Of these only 120 are first class—that is fairly passable throughout the rains—and though no statistics are furnished, we may conjecture that fully a quarter of the total mileage consists of embankment works which were not originally intended for traffic. Previous to these, roads had generally been constructed in the vicinity of garrison towns rather as a military precaution than as a public convenience, and all other itinerary improvements and repairs were left to the liberal charity of the people, who annually contribute about a lac of rupees for works of public accommodation. Outside a few isolated centres, beyond supplying a scanty and inefficient judicial and police apparatus, Government literally did nothing for the people it taxed so freely. It has been remarked that some years ago, if the English had abandoned India, empty soda water bottles would have been the chief testimony of their pristine lordship and labours. Till very recently we might have evacuated the province without leaving even this humble relic of our rule to decorate the pagoda spires of the interior. So little capital was sunk in our new estate, that the peasantry were slow to believe we intended a lengthy occupation of their land, and strangers can scarcely realize what useful purposes our earth-heaps have subserved, as a palpable and imperishable token of permanent empire and organization.

The Chief Commissioner, Mr. Eden, was the first to adopt a thorough irrigation policy; and it is to his strenuous untiring advocacy that we owe the greater portion of the Irawaddy embankments. His name will be more or less identified with them, as with education and police, as that of the first ruler who was capable of organized action instead of flimsy velleities. In October 1874, he was able to write that “the Henzada work after “paying all expenses of interest and management, had returned “more than 50 per cent. interest on the capital expended, and “this under the most unfavourable circumstances.”* At the same time he was far from being indifferent to other means of communication, and the great high-ways from Rangoon to Prome and Toungoo, made large progress before his departure. The personnel of the P.W.D. has been greatly increased during his régime; and other roads, hardly less important, are in course of

* It should be mentioned, however, that Mr. Eden has always set his face against “the results of embankment “schemes being judged by hard and “fast lines of debtor and creditor. “accounts.”

construction, so that we are scarcely rash in predicting, that before the close of the century there will be some sort of direct communication during the rains between all our garrison towns,—a comfortable reflection under not impossible contingencies, which we may trust are equally remote.* There are grounds, at any rate to be thankful that money is no longer wasted on chimerical schemes of Chinese railways and mineralogical explorations, and that the era is past when the survey of a line to Cambodia and “the interesting negative fact that numonulitic rocks do not extend to the East of the Irawaddy,” can be cited as the central scientific achievements of the year.†

The most imposing engineering enterprise recorded is the Rangoon and Prome Railway which was commenced in July 1874, though the whole line was not sanctioned by the Secretary of State till the ensuing December. The original design emanated from the last Chief Commissioner, Colonel Albert Fytche, C.S.I. in 1867, when we read that “a full and complete project was matured” from elaborate statistics prepared in the Chief Commissioner’s office, in the Pegu Commissioner’s office, and the Public Works “Department.” This matured project besides being “full and complete” must have presumed a fat and fertile harvest of profits before it was likely to be entertained by the Supreme Government. Yet even at this stage of its existence, it is difficult to conjecture the ultimate arguments which resulted in Prome, an Irawaddy station, being selected as our first mofussil terminus. Between this town and that metropolis there already exists magnificent steamboat communication; and during the year 1874, 170 voyages were made up and down the river by the 15 steamers plying between Rangoon and Mandalay. In addition to these, to quote the Report, “8,203 boats, with an aggregate tonnage of 57,285 tons passed up with exports, and 8,819 boats of 76,394 tons “were entered with imports.” It may be granted that the trade is increasing, but the steam traffic lies chiefly in the hands of a single Company, which is sufficiently wealthy and enterprising to develop the latent capabilities. The new line has thus all the disadvantage of a direct competition with superior water transit; and it is curious to find the Indian Government pursuing this policy just at the time when America and all the great continental powers are beginning to amplify and improve canal and river

* In the 1865-6 Report Sir A. Phayre mentions that “that the roads “are not constructed to any great “extent, but the principal lines are “projected, and are progressing favourably.” It is a consoling reflection that even after the lapse of ten years they still are described as

favourably progressing. It must be remembered, however, that it takes as much money to make one mile of road or 100 cubic feet of masonry in Burmah, as 2 miles and 300 feet elsewhere.

† Administration Report, 1866-67, p. 61.

communications more or less at the expense of railways. Sooner or later some kind of canal system will have to be essayed here, especially in the Upper Irawaddy districts, where irrigation is urgently required and where a diversion of a portion of the great stream would tend to diminish hydraulic difficulties below. At present, however, admitting that the country is ripe for a railway, obviously Toungoo is the point to be aimed at. This important military station is now during the rains completely isolated from the rest of the province, except by a water journey of many days' duration. The Sittoung with its snags and shallows has hitherto foiled all attempts at regular steam communication, though the canal which is in course of construction, connecting it with the Pegu river, and thereby avoiding the perilous Kayasoo creek, will greatly facilitate access to Shwaygyen. In the mere light of lucre there is every probability that this route would surpass the one at present in construction. Besides almost the exclusive carriage of the rich produce of the Sittoung valley, it would open a direct line of traffic with the Shan States, whose chief trade-routes converge on Toungoo, though at present the Shan merchant arriving there, only 150 miles from Rangoon, finds himself as remote from his market as the Chinaman at Bhamaun, 700 miles from the metropolis. There is but little to survey; the line will run through a rich valley with no heavy gradients to overcome or large streams to bridge; very little will have to be paid for the land; timber abounds throughout the whole alignment, and the starting point is a seaport town where plant and stores of all kinds can be delivered from the ships on to the wharves or into the railway trucks.* We read that the line is at present under survey on the recommendation of Mr. Eden, and it is to be hoped that no disappointments which may result from the Prome railway will induce Government to abandon the more important and profitable enterprise.

In estimating the present and prospective conditions of the province, it should be borne in mind that there is nothing exceptional or unprecedented in the rate of increase the returns of revenue and population have shown since our first annexation. It is the immense development of our maritime trade, notably in the exports of timber and rice, which stands out unparalleled in modern Indian annals. Since 1862 our rice exportation has about trebled, and is at present equal to the total amount shipped from the three continental presidencies. Its further expansion will of course depend on the available area of arable land; which, with certain provisions, is practically inexhaustible. The home demand is likely to increase proportionally with the supply, so that not-

* Administration Report, 1873-4. Introduction, p. 4.

withstanding the retrogression mentioned in the Report, due to abnormal reactionary causes, there is every reason to hope that Rangoon will long continue the chief rice emporium of the East.

The aspects of the timber trade are by no means so encouraging. I have already explained at some length the details of a scheme Mr. Baden Powell, the late officiating Inspector-General of Forests, succeeded in introducing into the province.* It consisted mainly in the formation of certain classes of reserves; the first, that of special reserve, being far the most important, and destined to become "the permanent valuable-timber-and-fuel-and other-produce-yielding forests of the country."† The system has lately been in operation in a single division,—that of Prome. Its essence lay in providing that the special reserves should be confined to compact areas of the very best forest growth. Instead of this, Government with its ordinary extravagant tenderness to any thing allied to agricultural interests, drew hard and fast lines of arbitrary boundary across the face of the country, having regard not so much to the habitat of teak, as to the paltry precarious rights of a few hundred hill cultivators. The expedient thus crippled and distorted, is in many respects more objectionable than the loose protective arrangements it has superseded, and its prime originator certainly does not deserve the discredit its inevitable failure will probably entail. That some reform is necessary a brief quotation will suffice to show. "For the last 6 years 'the average outturn' from Government forests was about 44,300 tons; the foreign timber exported represents an annual total of about 77,000 tons. This enormous amount, chiefly the result of the most reckless exploitation, cannot long be provided, and as there is no reason to expect any diminution in the aggregate demand, it is obvious that in proportion as extraneous supplies fail, our own will be called into larger requisition. In common with most educated foresters, the Inspector-General is not very sanguine as to whether they will bear the strain. By the most favourable estimate, there are only 1,650,000 first class teak trees in the area available for Government operations, and it is easily calculated how long these are 'likely to last us.'"

It is manifest, accordingly, that unless reproductive measures are more efficiently organised, sooner or later there must be a continuous reduction in the exports of this important staple. Its price has risen £1 per ton within the last four years, and already merchants are beginning to turn their attention to the superior produce of Malabar and the Malayan peninsula.

* Forest Administration in British Burmah, *Indian Observer*, October 3rd, 10th, 1874.

† Mr. Baden Powell's Report, 1873.

I may be thought to have lent too much space to the mere outward manifestations of the organic movement of the country. Commercial progress is a poor index to ethic or educational advancement; and so many thousand tons of rice or timber can hardly be considered the chief motive and resultant of all the complex forces of national life. But on so wide a subject, two or three chance facts must be the first to concentrate attention; and it is not wholly without design that I have left but a few brief paragraphs for all that remains unsaid.

The earlier years of our rule were characterised by frequent scenes of criminal violence and disorder. A Burmah though naturally amiable, is choleric, pugnacious, and when provoked thinks as little of mayhem as a frenzied Malay. In constant strife with tenacious nature, who yearly invades his fields with a confused array of botanical refuse, his dha is an implement as indispensable as the axe of the Canadian backwoodsman. Moreover till very lately some centuries of inherited instincts rendered it like the American revolver, an ordinary requirement of social intercourse; and "dha displayer" is the conventional term for a robber or dacoit. The old Burmese officials chiefly maintained their authority by a clientèle of such reputable adherents; and when the change of Government deprived these of their legitimate gain, they easily fell back on their original mode of living. In 1861 when the population stood considerably short of two millions, there were 236 dacoities reported and over two hundred robberies. Sir Arthur Phayre, before he left, brought down the number in 1865 to 129 of the former and 144 of the latter, but they increased again in his successor's time, who though he, like Lord Aberdare, rather plumed himself on the "gratifying diminution of crime," had in 1867 to report 228 dacoities, and 188 robberies in a population of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The first year of Mr. Eden's vigorous régime saw a signal change, and the present statistics chronicle only 23 and 97 of these respective offences. The dha however is still largely used for aggressive purposes, and nearly 200 cases of hurt with dangerous weapons occurred during the year. The magistracy have been enjoined to inflict severer punishments, but the best preventive would be to make the offence punishable under the Whipping Act. The old doctrine of exact retaliation had its advantages, and a blow for a blow would answer as well in Burmah as among the Lancashire roughs of our own civilised community.

Though the general standard of crime is still excessive as compared with our other Indian possessions, the police of the province is gradually improving on the flabby and ineffective machinery of former years. They are chiefly recruited from indigenous sources, who are averse to submitting for any length of time to discipline.

and routine, and who find the work too rigorous and unattractive to be any thing but a temporary makeshift. To quote the Report "the great difficulty which is experienced in maintaining a high standard of efficiency among the rank and file, will be appreciated when it is recollected that 655 or 10 per cent. had to be discharged for misconduct and 1,124 voluntarily resigned during the year." This element of instability is partially intelligible when we read that the ratio of police to population is only 1 to 440, and to area, one to every $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles of country. Judged by the latter standard no part of the empire is more inadequately supplied with a protective force than British Burmah. The report further notices as a speciality of the province (like dories and mangosteens) that "there is an almost total absence of that marked intimacy between prevalence of theft and dearth of food which is seen so plainly elsewhere." Its argument I may remark is hardly conclusive as regard 1874. The year was one of unexampled prosperity no doubt, but only to those concerned in the production and distribution of paddy, probably less than one-third of the whole population; the rest must have suffered from the dearth of their food. In estimating the criminality of the province, it should be borne in mind that in the Peguan districts, which contribute more than three-fifths of our convicts, police organisation is barely a generation old; and secondly, that their population is largely composed of men who work in the innumerable boats which ply up and down the Irawaddy. They lead a rough and improvident life, alternating between painful drudgery and easy intemperance, and their natural tendency to evil-doing is vastly strengthened by periodical contact with the ferment and disorder existing beyond the frontier. It is this class who are the chief recruits of crime, and who degrade the moral status of the country. A glance at the statistics will show that the labouring classes, unaffected by Irawaddy or maritime influences, are exceptionally immaculate.* The typical Burman of the interior is orderly, tractable and industrious. He has perhaps no very distinct conception of moral obligations, and no great horror of thievery in the abstract; but prospective peril to his kine or coffers, to his wife's silk kirtle and his daughter's gold ear-trinkets induces speedy denunciation of neighbouring delinquents. Though he is quite in-

* Of the 15,000 convicts in the various jails of the province, about 11,000 were imprisoned in the Pegu division. In Thayetmyo, a frontier Irawaddy district, with a population of about 140,000, 1,471 convicts were in prison during the year. In Shwaygyen on the Sittoung, with a

population only 7,000 less, only 346 were in prison. So too of the 270,000 of the Prome district, 1,028 convicts were imprisoned, while in the three district of Tavoy, Mergui and Toungoo, aggregating 210,000 souls, only 283 were imprisoned.

curious as to the motive, meaning, or success of our administrative theory, he is generally submissive enough to its lesser manifestations, and has no experiences of extortionate rents and unrelenting landlords which he can identify as its prominent and palpable resultants. He is strongly imbued with conservative instincts and prejudices, but his conservatism is not unintelligent and is free from all taint of mere superstition. His life is happy enough from its own point of view, and his religious traditions are of such vague and manifold potentiality, that he can infuse what he likes of individual hopes and speculation. He has, moreover, the indefinable advantage of constant and unrestrained subjectivity to feminine work and influences; and in freedom from all trammels of caste, or class, or sex,* he must be considered far in advance of other more civilized nations.

Voltaire has remarked *Le secret d'ennuyer est celui de tout dire*, and it is with this consoling adage we are forced to conclude our desultory sketch. The two important heads of Education and Foreign Relations deserve undoubtedly more than a passing allusion. The ordinary school-system is comparatively new in Burmah, and was criticised at some length in the *Indian Observer*,* on its introduction into the province. However it is working as well as can be expected, considering the deficiency of subordinate apparatus. Our external policy is now of imperial scope and significance. Burmah, some months back, was the chief centre of European interest: and though the thunder cloud has passed, the tranquillity is like that what De Quincey described, no product of inertia but as if resulting from mighty and equal antagonisms; infinite activities, infinite repose. Russia is looming beyond the realm of the Grand Lama; China has crushed its Musalmán insurgents; and with our own provincial boundaries pushed Northwards to the Himalayas and South to Singapore, the three great Asian powers may yet confront each other around the sequestered plateau of Thibet.

An Administration Report is at best a mere "farrago libelli,—

A book in shape, but really pure crude fact
Secreted from men's lives.

and the clearest of commentaries can do no more than single out for refinement some of the most valuable secretions. But the thinnest of criticisms may do service in showing, that successful as our English efforts have been face to face with a new race, religion and language, we are yet in the infancy of our Indo-Chinese rule, and require a steady and resolute pioneer in the path we have begun to tread.

H. L. ST. BARBE, B.C.S.,
British Burmah Commission.

ART. V.—EGYPTOLOGY.

1. *Egypt from the Earliest Times to B.C. 300.* By Dr. Samuel Birch, of the British Museum. 1875.
2. *Records of the Past, being English Translations from Egyptian Monuments.* 1875.
3. *Up the Nile by Steam.* By Thomas Cook. 1875.
4. *Murray's Hand-Book to Egypt.* 1875.
5. *Grammaire Hieroglyphique.* Par Henri Brugsch. 1872.
6. *Archaic Classics :—Elementary Grammar of the Antient Egyptian Language.* By P. LePage Renouf. 1875.
7. *Dictionnaire d'Archæologie Egyptienne.* Par Paul Pierret. 1875.
8. *Mahaffy's Prolegomena of Antient History.* 1871.
9. *Bunsen's Egypt's Place in Universal History. Vol. V.* Edited by Dr. G. Birch. 1867.

THE subject which we propose to ourselves, *viz.*, to bring before our readers in a condensed form the state of our knowledge on Egyptology, is one of unusual proportions: to be entirely ignorant implies a gap in the portable knowledge of a well-educated man. It seems therefore that we should be doing some service in running over the heads of a subject of capital importance, and indicating the quarters in which information can be obtained up to the latest date. Few persons are entirely ignorant of Egypt, or would admit that they were: the study of the Bible, the Classic Poets, Modern History, and the overland passage, have made them familiar with the name. Few would like to be closely questioned as to the extent of their knowledge; and we must admit, that until the last few years amidst a blaze of learned works in English, French, and German, there have been no popular accounts available, in a readable form, of the language, monuments, and history of Egypt. Such excuse can no longer be offered: the works mentioned at the head of this article are condensed, up to date, and popular, and to be purchased at a most reasonable price.

It would indeed seem that we were arriving at the end of the world, and that there were little of the world's external features and antient history left for succeeding generations to discover. At the same time, that we are tracking back with an unerring blood-hound's scent the different tributaries of the Nile to their long-concealed sources, and revealing a secret which escaped

the penetrating inquiries of the Roman and Greek two thousand years ago ; we are also, with an almost superhuman skill and unparalleled success, compelling the soil of Egypt to give up from its bowels inscriptions in the Egyptian language and character, on stone, wood, and papyrus, which had designedly been placed there by the antient inhabitants of the country at a period anterior to the time of Moses. We cannot say, whether the Greek and Roman conquerors of Egypt were able, or careful enough, to inform themselves of the meaning of those hieroglyphic inscriptions which met their eyes on every side, and the lengthy Hieratic papyri which must have been at that time extant in countless numbers ; we have at least this pregnant fact, that no Greek or Latin translation of the sacred books of the Egyptians, analogous to the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, has come down to us, or is alluded to as in existence by classic authors. An impenetrable veil fell upon the history and language of this most antient people, who filled a grand place in the early history of the world, and, by bequeathing to mankind the priceless legacy of a phonetic alphabet, deserved a better fate. How much the world is indebted to them for other benefactions to the human race, we cannot say with precision ; for the assimilating Greek has kept in the back-ground, or totally out of sight, the long schedule of their indebtedness in art and science to the elder nations of the world.

We propose to divide this great subject into the following heads, and remark on them separately :—

- I. The Antient History.
- II. The Monuments, which have survived to our time, and can be seen in a tour in Egypt and Nubia.
- III. The Language and Character.
- IV. The Literature.
- V. The Scholars in this field.

I. The Antient History has been the subject of endless debate, and no two writers agree in detail. Certain facts are beyond doubt, that nothing pretending to be a native history, analogous to the Hebrew Scriptures, has come down to us ; on the other hand, in those Scriptures constant allusion is made to Egypt from the time of Abraham, 1900 B.C., till the time of Christ. Thus, without a rival Egypt takes its place as the earliest of known kingdoms, excepting that of Proto-Babylonia. The Father of history devoted one book of his immortal work to the subject of Egypt, about 450 B.C. The Egyptian monuments, however, contain no sort of continuous chronology, and no safe materials for constructing one. The possibility of forming any edifice at all depends on the outline preserved by Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the time of the Ptolemies ; but this

outline has only come down to us in a very imperfect state in two discrepant versions: one in the works of Syncellus, a monk of Constantinople, who lived one thousand years later, and another in the works of the Armenian Eusebius, who lived A.D. 300. Both versions, however, give the same skeleton frame-work of thirty dynasties from Menes to Alexander the Great; and a period of about five thousand years. The monumental inscriptions when interpreted, testify to the historical nature of these lists, and render up the names of a long series of sovereigns, enclosed in the well-known oval rings: we are therefore quite satisfied that such kings did exist, but whether many were not contemporaries of each other, ruling in different portions of Egypt, is quite uncertain. No scheme of chronology can be formed from these lists, until it is clearly shown what deductions from the total should be made for contemporaneous dynasties. No lack of ingenuity and industry is evident in works such as Chevalier Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History*; and Brugsch Bey's *Histoire d'Egypte*, which has the advantage over the work of his predecessor in being brought up to a quarter of a century's later date of knowledge. Lenormant, Mariette, and Birch have also made contributions to the same subject; and we have selected the brief, but comprehensive, work published by the last-mentioned of the three, whose views on points of chronology, and other points, bearing on the correctness of the narrative of the Hebrew Scriptures, are moderate and sober. We shall notice some of the more startling theories presented to us by the bolder spirits; some of which may well make us hold our breath for a time, as we see each antient landmark, each time-honoured tradition, ruthlessly swept away.

The main divisions are the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, and the New Empire; which are followed by the Persian, Grecian, and Roman Conquests. The Old Empire is calculated (by the moderate party) to have commenced with Menes, about 3000 B.C. Considering that the date for the Deluge is according to the hitherto accepted books of theology fixed at 2349 B.C., it will appear that this moderate date fixed for Menes requires a large expansion of ideas and latitude of time. A localization of the Deluge, or an allowance of a larger period betwixt that event and the call of Abraham, might get over that difficulty; but behind the fact of the commencement of the Old Empire with Menes lies a succession of necessary inductions. Menes is found to be the sovereign of the United Kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, civilized and flourishing, possessed of the arts of building and of writing, which last fact presupposes the existence of a language possessing refinement, and a religion possessing stability. When we consider what the resources and capacities of un-

civilized men are, we are lost in wonder at the number of centuries required, anterior to Menes, to produce this degree of settled civilization; for one of the acts of Menes was to found Memphis, and to construct a great dyke to control the waters of the Nile. Bunsen has hazarded a demand of ten thousand years, but it is obvious that we have no measure by which we can gauge the period required for the process of civilization; and the only safe course is to stand ready to give a fair hearing to safe and moderate speculations, or to rest contented with leaving this, like many other dark secrets, unsolved.

In the fourth dynasty of the Old Empire the greatness of Egypt began to show itself. Though pyramids had already been erected to cover royal remains, and war had been constantly carried on with neighbouring tribes, still we have been glad to pick up our knowledge of the names of the kings from the Greek epitomists; but now the monuments still existing contain exact and contemporary accounts of the events which took place. And the date of this dynasty is, with great show of reason, fixed at 2400 B.C. How insignificant in comparison is the earliest monumental record of the great Hindu people at 400 B.C., and the earliest monument of the Phœnician alphabet—the Moabite Stone, at 800! And we have this remarkable fact forced upon us. From the fourth or preceding dynasty the custom had commenced of assigning to each king, as he ascended the throne, an additional name: thus, for each king appears two cartouches: the first was the solar, or divine name, the second, the family or birth name. The “Plant” and “Wasp” over the latter indicated the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt: the words “Son of the Sun” were over the former. Now over the copper mines of Wadi Magaruh in the Peninsula of Sinai, in Arabia, are found these signet marks of Senefru, affixed there centuries before the time of Abraham, and followed by a long succession of signet marks of succeeding monarchs. Thus, when the Israelites fled from Egypt into the desert, they did not, as is generally supposed, pass into a strange land beyond the reach of the Egyptians, but into one of the outlying provinces of that Empire.

His successor Khufu, or Cheops, built the great Pyramid. The principle of the construction of pyramids was this: early in the reign of the king the surface was levelled, and a sepulchral chamber sunk in the rock: over this a small pyramid was erected: if the king died, the work remained thus, but for every year he subsequently lived an additional layer of masonry was placed on the work of the previous year. When he died, the casing, or outer surface, was finished off; their object was exclusively for the purposes of a tomb, and the idea of any astronomical connection has long been exploded, and it is doubtful whether at that period the

Egyptians knew anything beyond the simplest facts of that science. His successors Shufra or Chephrenes, and Menkaura or Mencheres, built the second and third Pyramids. The existence of these monuments testify to the science, skill, wealth, and civilization of the people, which could erect such imperishable structures. The inscriptions which have survived, show that the graphic system of writing, with the use of a phonetic alphabet, was complete, and that the religion of the country was reduced to a system. The bas-reliefs of the tombs give us a full idea of the habits of the people and their advanced civilization, and it must be recollected, that four thousand years from the present date is a moderate calculation for the degree of their antiquity. Such as the Pyramids are, Abraham, Joseph and Moses, must have seen them; as they were buildings which had already existed, for a century at least, when Abraham went down into Egypt.

The kings of the fifth dynasty placed their signet marks on the copper mines of the Peninsula of Sinai, and built their own Pyramids; and to this dynasty is attributed the oldest existing papyrus, written in Hieratic character, marking another epoch; as the Hieratic character is the cursive form of the hieroglyphic, and the use of the frail material of the papyrus indicates that the art of writing had been already transferred from monumental works to the ordinary uses of life. Moreover, the contents of this papyrus are moral precepts as from a father to a son; here we have some at least of the wisdom of the Egyptians, which Moses learnt centuries afterwards.

In the sixth dynasty was the celebrated Nitocris, the Rhodope of the Greeks, who owed her elevation to her slipper being seized by an eagle and carried to the King of Egypt. With this dynasty ends the grandeur of the old kingdom, and a monumental gap follows which cannot be filled up, and which lasts till the eleventh, dynasty; which is included in the Middle Empire, but of which we know absolutely nothing, though comprehending a period of two or more centuries. This shows how completely we are still groping in the dark, and what room there is for doubt. The materials for construction of the ancient history of Egypt consist of the fragmentary though precious lists, which have come down to us through Manetho and Eratosthenes, which have to be compared with the monumental lists of scutcheons of kings found on the walls of temples in Karnak and Abydos, and the celebrated Royal Papyrus at Turin. The greatest ingenuity, and profoundest knowledge of the subject, have failed in some points, and given an uncertain sound in others.

We touch ground at the eleventh dynasty:—Egypt was called “Kem” or “Kam,” meaning “black,” from the colour of the

alluvial mud of the Nile, in the Egyptian language, and as such it is once mentioned in the Hebrew Psalms : but in the Pentateuch it is called "Mitsraim," a dual form, indicating the Upper and Lower Egypt. The name of "Aiguptos" given by the Greeks, was probably derived from a town named "Kebta," and from the Greek word grew the name of Copt : and this town Kafta was the residence of one king at least of the eleventh dynasty about 2,000 B. C. His successor, the founder of the twelfth dynasty, conquered Ethiopia, and left a record of his conquest on a tablet in Nubia. Famines seem to have occurred at this period which led to the construction by a later king of this dynasty of the Lake of Moeris in the Faioum ; in which the surplus waters of the Nile were, as it were, stored, so that its overflow might be regulated, on which the prosperity of the country depended. In the centre of the Lake was a pyramid for the place of sepulture of the founder ; and on the banks, the celebrated labyrinth, the greatest wonder of the wondrous monuments of Egypt. Another interest attaches itself to this dynasty, that by one of its kings was erected the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis ; and the sole remaining obelisk *in situ*, and the two so-called Cleopatra's Needles, which may be said to be *in transitu*, testify to the magnificence of the structure. The survivor at Heliopolis bears the name of the king in hieroglyphics, and is the most antient of those petrified sun-beams, which the Greeks called obelisks. The real Sesostris was a member of this dynasty ; though from an historical confusion, much of the glory attached to that great name, has wound itself round the person of Rameses the Second, who lived many centuries later.

The valley of the Nile was exposed to attacks on two sides specially, and throughout its long annals we find, that down the course of the stream from Ethiopia, or from Asia across the Isthmus of Suez, its chief dangers lay. From the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty, a period certainly of not less than four hundred years, and by many calculated at a larger figure, there is a gap in the monuments ; and we have to lean upon uncertain tradition, and lists of kings, difficult to be reconciled to facts, or brought into order. But of one great fact there is no doubt, that at this period there occurred an irruption of Bedouins into the Nile valley, and the occupation of Lower Egypt, and a partial subjection of the Thebaid. Memphis and Heliopolis with their pyramids, obelisks, temples, and tombs, passed into the hands of a race differing in origin, language, and creed, poor, strong and uncivilized ; and a hard time it was no doubt for priest and noble. These invaders were known as the shepherds, or Hyksos, who are credited with the usual amount of pillage, carnage, and desecration ; and the recollection of this period lived in the

memory of future generations, and shepherds were in very deed an abomination to the Egyptians.

At this point we enter upon one of the great controversies of history, which Josephus, and the early Christian fathers disposed of with the stroke of a pen, but which seemed to be made more and more complicated by the decipherment of every new inscription, and the unrolling of every fresh papyrus. There is a school of clerics, who stand up too much for the literal accuracy of the Pentateuch; there is a school of laics, who scarcely give to these venerable Hebrew records the value which they allow to the surviving scraps of Manetho. The question is this: Who were the Pharaohs, with whom Abraham, and Joseph, and the parents of Moses, and eighty years later, Moses himself came into contact? The period over which those events are spread, cannot fall very short of five hundred years; and Pharaoh was the name of all monarchs of Egypt, of whatever dynasty, as modern investigation has discovered that it means, when analysed, "The Great Residence," very much as in modern parlance "The Sublime Porte" is spoken of. To those religionists who argue outside the limits of science, there is no reply. In the first volume of the Speaker's Commentary, Canon Cook propounds an intelligent and reasonable view, though entirely different from the results arrived at by the great Egyptian scholars. According to Canon Cook, Abraham went down to Egypt in the 12th dynasty; and in the same dynasty, which lasted more than 200 years, Joseph also went down, and was received into favour, and married to the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. The storm of the Hyksos swept away that dynasty; but the descendants of Jacob, themselves Bedouins, were looked upon with favour by the invaders, or at least left alone in their lands. When, however, the Egyptians recovered their liberty, and a new king rose up who knew not Joseph, it was but natural that those who had sided with, and were akin to, the invaders, should be kept under, and reduced to helotry; and it is under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, that Canon Cook places the exodus. Brugsch Bey, the first of living authorities, has come to a different conclusion. He places the visit of Abraham, and the going down into Egypt, in the time of the Hyksos, and the exodus in the time of the nineteenth dynasty. Who shall decide, and is the matter worth arguing? It is worthy of remark, that in the Hebrew narrative no mention is made of Memphis; and in the Egyptian annals, or monumental inscriptions, no allusion is found to such an amazing exhibition of miraculous power as the Ten Plagues, and such a heavy discomfiture as the destruction of the army in the waves of the ocean.

In these days, it is necessary to keep the mind in a state of

preparation for the reception of new and startling theories ; and perhaps none is more startling than the theory of Bugsch Bey, that the Israelites did not cross the Red Sea at all. According to him the route of the fugitives from Goshen lay along the coast of the Mediterranean, which is enclosed by marshes known as the Serbonian Bog on the south side. An irruption of the sea caused by the west wind led to the destruction of Pharaoh's army then, as it has caused the destruction of many a caravan since. No doubt there is nothing in the Hebrew text to connect the story with the Red Sea, but unquestionably the compilers of the Septuagint, who ought to have known the opinion of their time, received it as such ; and it will be difficult to bring about a general conviction, that the crossing of the Red Sea is a geographical error.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos commenced the New Empire, and the great splendour and power of Egypt. For a period of four hundred years no power in Europe, Africa, or Asia could stand before them. Not as yet had the Trojan war been fought, or a powerful monarchy been established on the Tigris. Over and over again did the armies of Thothmes and Amenophis and Rameses traverse Palestine, conventionally supposed to have been partitioned among the Twelve Tribes ; and carry their standards to Damascus and Nineveh, leaving their inscriptions upon the rocks of the conquered countries. The magnificent temples and tombs at Thebes, the Sphinx at the Pyramids, the monumental tablets and temples far up into Nubia, the gigantic statues, the galleries of paintings, the miles of hieroglyphics, the countless papyri to be seen in all the museums of Europe, are the out-come of this period of magnificence and civilization. Amenophis II. is the Memnon of the great Colossus at Luxor ; and Rameses II. is the Sesostris of Herodotus. With Seti I. originated the idea of the Suez Canal, which it has taken nearly four thousand years to carry into execution. Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Cyprus, acknowledged the superiority of Egypt during these two splendid dynasties, and sent presents and tribute and female slaves ; and these last must have had a sensible effect upon the population ; and Rameses II. himself, from the admixture of blood caused by the Semitic alliances of his ancestors, exhibits in his features, which are so well-known in European galleries, the refined Asiatic, different from the Nigritic type of the kings of the nineteenth century. He had a multiplicity of children, and a plurality of royal titles ; he it was who reduced the Hebrews to bondage, and compelled them to build his treasure city Ramses ; he it was from whose wrath Moses fled when he slew the Egyptian, and on whose death he ventured to return.

Rameses II. reigned sixty-seven years, and was succeeded by his thirteenth son Menephthah. Great as was the wealth and prosperity and glory of his reign, the country had begun to decline, exhausted and burnt up by the exertion and the splendour. His successor's reign is interesting from two distinct causes. He was unquestionably (*pace* Canon Cook) the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which marks a period in the world's history; and a still greater epoch, that of the siege of Troy, is fixed by a series of careful inductions on ascertained facts, as having happened very soon after. In Menephthah's campaign against the Libyans, and the victories recorded on his monuments, we find certain mention of the Sardinians, the Sicilians, the Etruscans, the Lycians, and the Achæans, who served as mercenaries under the Libyan King. Light was in fact beginning to dawn upon the West, and the cackling of the great brood of Europa's chickens was beginning to be heard. All this will be found eloquently set forth in Mr. Gladstone's last work, "*Homeric Synchronism*;" and round this point ranges one of the great Egyptian controversies. We find in Homer an echo of the greatness of the hundred-gated Thebes; and the feigned story put into the mouth of Ulysses, with regard to events happening in Egypt, indicates a substantial knowledge of that country.

The great line of the Rameses continued with diminishing splendour. Rameses III., of the twentieth dynasty, was the last of the heroic kings of Egypt. He was known to the Greeks as Ramsinilus, and the events of his reign are detailed in the great Harris papyrus. He was warlike and luxurious: a calendar on the roof of one of his temples at Thebes marked the fixed year, or the rising of the Dog-Star on the first day of the month Thott, the New-year's day of Egypt; and this must have been about 1,300 B. C. By the irony of fate the granite coffin of this monarch is in the Museum at Cambridge, and the papyrus roll of his temple in the British Museum.

Egypt now lost all its foreign possessions. One king of the twenty-first dynasty gave a daughter in marriage to King Solomon; and another of the twenty-second gave a daughter in marriage to Jeroboam; this was Shishak, who was of non-Egyptian origin, and he captured and plundered Jerusalem, of which the name appears among other conquered cities on the walls of a portico at Karnak.

After the inglorious dynasty of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth followed the Ethiopian invasion, under Sabaco (called so in the Hebrew Scriptures) and Tirhaka of the twenty-fifth dynasty. The power of Assyria had now begun to be predominant. Samaria had been occupied. The cuneiform inscriptions throw new and unexpected light upon the history of Egypt, which was finally

subdued by Esarhaddon, and was divided among numerous local governors or princes ; one of whom founded the twenty-sixth, the last native dynasty, rendered illustrious by the names of Psammetichus and Necho ; and here we can plant our feet firmly on the rock of absolute chronology and undoubted history. Greeks were largely employed under those monarchs ; and the whole character, language, and religion of the Egyptian people began to undergo a sensible change. With one more Egyptian King we come in contact in the Hebrew Scriptures, after the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar :—This was the unfortunate Apries, the Pharaoh Hophrab, in whose reign Jeremiah the Prophet and a Jewish remnant fled into Egypt. Within a short time followed the Persian conquest, and Egypt became only a province.

No nation has occupied a place in history so long and so nobly. For more than two thousand years Egypt was one of the greatest powers in the world. No nation was so self-conscious, so desirous of perpetuating the fame of its achievements. Every Museum in Europe teems with the spoil of Egypt. Haughty time has been unjust to her. Fairly worsted in the long struggle with the Semitic powers on the Tigris and Euphrates, she gave way before Assyria and Babylonia, and was overshadowed by the great Persian Monarchy. If the Greeks restored to her an independent existence, her civilization, language, religion, and arts paled before the new development of ideas ; and Rome hated, despised, and extinguished her. Roman historians speak of her with disdain ; and Roman poets, such as Juvenal, with loathing. By public and private monuments, tablets, and tombs she had striven to secure a life beyond the grave. She recorded Heliacal risings on the ceilings and walls of her temples ; she recorded the names of her kings, but noting only the regnant year of each monarch, no basis was found for real chronology : one papyrus known as the record of four hundred years was the sole exception : attempts have been made to construct chronology based on great Sothic cycles of 1,461 years. No eclipse has been noted in such a way as to be utilized. The loss of the works of Manetho and Eratosthenes was an additional misfortune ; and in spite of all that has been done by the past generation of critics, all dates are provisional only—the regnant years afford no better materials for a sound system of chronology than would the number of a covey of partridges to measure the diameter of the sky. Moreover, the power and importance and merits of Egypt have been systematically undervalued, in proportion as the power and importance of the Hebrews has been over-estimated. Egypt has become the type of all that was evil, because it treated the Hebrews with the severity usual to subject and inferior populations in the early ages of the world ; there was none of the exceptional ferocity which marked

the conduct of the Hebrews to the people of Canaan, nations of kindred races and speaking a kindred language to that of the invaders : yet the tiny cry of this petty nation, that only for a few short years could hold its own, is heard far above the drums of the Egyptian and the trumpets of the Assyrian conqueror, and it is only within the last quarter of a century that we have the materials from the Assyrian and Egyptian store-houses, sufficient to contract, and reduce to proper limits, the Hebrew legends. As far as documents enable us to trace during the long period that the national life of Egypt flowed on like its own Nile, it received no affluents, and owes nothing to exterior influence. Ethiopia at one time received civilization, and at another time imposed a yoke : Arabia had little, and India, no influence at all.

II. Of this wonderful greatness, this exuberance of monuments, above and below ground, which lined the banks of the Nile from the second cataract to the sea, the remains are countless. Up to the beginning of this century the sand of the desert, and Muhammadan disdain, had preserved them in the dry air ; colours and carvings, pottery and cerements, clothes, ornaments, and papyri had survived the wreck of ages : the plundering of the Roman conquerors was moderate. During the many centuries which intervened betwixt the fall of Rome and our own days, the work of destructions was limited to the utilizing of material for newer dwellings ; but since the commencement of the present century, the work of excavation, plunder, and removal, of wanton destruction, of injury by exposure has gone on, until in these last days the Khedive has himself started a Museum of Antiquities, and forbidden all further exportations. A tour up the Nile is still one of the most delightful excursions, and we propose briefly to follow the tourist and note the monuments which will fall under his observation. There are indeed remains in the Delta of the time of the Pharaohs, at Sais, Bubastis and other places. All the world has heard of Memphis, and the three great groups of Pyramids, the Sphinx, and the Tombs, and the Serapeum, all in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and thence conveniently visited. The days for Dahabeahs on the Nile, and delightful weeks spent in tracking up and floating down, are passing away ; and the steamers offer speed and economy, and by the aid of enterprising conductors of tours, all the petty annoyances of travel are removed from the tourist, who is able to throw himself into the subject, and the progress of the steamer is so arranged that nothing should be omitted :—provision is further made either for a limited tour to the first cataract, or a more extended tour to the second.

In a few lines we will follow the tourist:—On the fourth day he reaches Beni Hassan, with its rock tombs, and the Speos Artemidos: on the sixth day the steamer stops to allow of a visit being paid to the grand and magnificent ruins of Abydos. On the eighth day the temple of Dendarah is visited, and on the ninth there is a halt of three days at Luxor. This is the centre of a cluster of magnificent ruins at Luxor itself, Medinet Haboo, Karnak and the Valley of the Tombs. On the twelfth day the voyage is resumed, and the splendid temple of Edfou comes in sight; and on the thirteenth the shorter trip is completed, and the steamer arrives at Assooan and the first cataract. The return journey down stream occupies six days: the whole cost is £46.

For those who have leisure to continue the route up to the second cataract, a second steamer is ready at Philæ: the places at which the tourist stops to inspect ruins are numerous, and the trip to Wadi Halful and back to Philæ occupies twelve days, at a cost of £40. The greatest attraction which Nubia has to offer, is the great temple of Ipsamboul, or Aboo Simbal; with its four gigantic figures of the great Rameses, each sixty-six feet high, hewn in the solid rock, and wearing the double Pschent or crown indicating Upper and Lower Egypt. The distance traversed from Cairo to the second Cataract by the river route amounts to about 780 miles; and the trip there, and back can be accomplished with comfort in five weeks. The climate itself is enjoyable in the winter months beyond all description. No doubt in the monuments there is a sameness, and few might care to make the excursion twice. Until the time that the Prometheus torch of the Greek let in light, there is the same rigid statue-idea from the earliest date of the empire through the Hyksos period to the grand days of Thothmes and Seti I: there is the same family likeness, and identical type—long limbs, flat feet, high shoulders, large eyes, opening on the outer angle, large mouth, low forehead, nose slightly flat, open nostrils. Such was the conception of mortal beauty before Aphrodite sprang from the foam of Cyprus. There was a certain hieratic canon to regulate the human frame, though the features were meant to be recognizable as portraits; and Amenophis can always be distinguished from Thothmes as Augustus from Trajan. Moreover, place an Egyptian “fellah” by the side of a statue, and you will at once recognize the model:—for beyond any doubt the present inhabitants are the representatives of the antient race, as the Coptic, only lately fallen out of use, is of the antient Egyptian language.

III. To this grand subject we now turn. It is a wonderful phenomenon, that of this language for so many hundred years all memory and tradition should have been lost. We have

monumental proof that up to the time of the Emperor Decius the language and character were known. With the destruction of the Alexandrine Library, no doubt, perished Greek treatises which might have supplied a clue. The Romans were utterly unsympathetic to the history and customs of any nation but their own. Up to the commencement of this century the problem seemed insoluble, as no one could decipher the character or translate the language, when the character had been deciphered. The time had come for the discovery of this secret, when the Rosetta stone with a trilingual inscription in Greek, as well as in the Demotic and Hieroglyphic characters of the Egyptian, fell into the hands of the French, and passed by the chances of war into the hands of the English. Certain preliminary points had been discovered; one of which was, that certain characters inclosed in a ring were proper names. Dr. Young in England, and subsequently Champollion in France, struck out the idea that the characters, contrary to the established notion, were phonetic. The name of Ptolemy appeared in the Greek version more than once: by careful scrutiny certain rings in the hieroglyphic were presumed to represent that name, and a fortunate discovery of another stone with the name of Cleopatra enabled Champollion to compare the two names, and the letters in each were found to correspond in hieroglyphics, where they were identical in Greek: this led on to the certain discovery of the whole system.

All doubts, cavils, and objections have long since passed away. It is one of the accepted truths of modern science, that the ancient Egyptians have left us in their monuments, and their papyri, three distinct forms of writing:—I., Hieroglyphic; II., Hieratic; III., Demotic. The first-class is so far misdescribed, that it was used for other than sacred purposes, and by other means than sculpture or engraving. In fact the characters were painted, inlaid, embossed, expressed in a lineal form on a variety of material for every kind of subject. The system, though thoroughly understood, was most complicated and artificial. The characters were used phonetically or as ideographs: when used phonetically they might be letters or syllables: when used as ideographs, they might represent a particular object, or be used as determinatives of a class; they can be written from right to left, or from left to right, or vertically. The whole system is found in force, even the phonetic portion, from the earliest date of the old empire: it is difficult to realise the long antecedent periods required for the elaboration of such a system.

As early as the twelfth dynasty in the old Empire, we find the necessity felt of a cursive system of writing, and are introduced to the Hieratic character, which is identical with the hieroglyphics

but bears the relation of our running hand to print: the language of both is identical, though perhaps the hieratic is able to express more grammatical refinements. In this character the great majority of the papyri are found, and it is the special interest of the early documents of this period, that from them is traced the first germ of the Phœnician character, to which Europe and Asia are indebted for their various alphabets. This subject is too large to enter upon further: the gap betwixt the hieratic of the twelfth dynasty and the earliest Phœnician monument, the Moabite Stone, is very considerable; and the connection of the two is not as yet one of the accepted truths of science.

As time went on, the language of the Egyptians underwent modification. The Greek influence began to be felt, and in the time of Psammetichus a further modification took place in the form of the character known as the Demotic; but to the last the Egyptian scribe could not free himself from the use of ideographs, and they are found in the demotic, but to a less extent. In this lay the mighty innovation of the Phœnicians, that they adopted an alphabet free from the confusion of ideographs and the complications of the syllabary.

The name of the Emperor Decius is the last which appears in hieroglyphics. The latest use of the hieratic character is about one century before the Christian era: the demotic was not destined to survive the introduction of Christianity, for, in the second century of our era, a modified form of the Greek character with supplementary signs was introduced, known as the Coptic, which lasted on till within the last century, when both Coptic language and character gave way to Arabic. The probable cause of the abandonment of the demotic character was the use of ideographs which still clung to it: the assertion that the use of the character with its heathen associations was offensive to Christians, would apply equally to Greek and Phœnician, for no trace of resemblance survived in the demotic of the figures which are so conspicuous in hieroglyphics.

It is worthy of note, that in the Upper Nile analogous changes took place in the language and character of Ethiopia, though entirely independent of Egyptian influences. A local demotic sprang into existence in supersession of the hieroglyphics which had been common to both countries, though this by no means implied identity of language. The Ethiopian demotic was purely alphabetic: it was read from right to left, and the words divided by strong points, probably adopted from the Romans. After this local demotic followed a local variation of the Greek character analogous to Coptic, and this finally gave way like the Coptic to the Abyssinian Ghey, imported across the Red Sea from Arabia.

It is calculated that there are nearly one thousand distinct characters available to the Egyptian scribe: they are thus classed:—

Ideographs	...	...	..	...	620
Determinatives	...	...	..	...	164
Phonetics	...	...	..	...	120
Mixed signs	...	...	..	...	56
					<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	960

In their anxiety to be clear, the scribes would, in addition to the ideographic sign, which was a picture, or a symbolic sign of the object, spell the word out phonetically, and then affix a determinative: thus the letters of the word "*horse*" would be spelt out, and then the figure of a horse, and then the sign, that indicated an animal generally: it is obvious that for grammatical inflections phonetic characters alone could be used. All this may seem very clumsy to us who have enjoyed an alphabetical system for many generations; but we must recollect that it was only by very slow development that the mind of man attained to the notion of an alphabet: even to this day the Chinese have not attained to it:—and the Egyptian ideograph has this merit, that it is always intelligible, owing to the material on which it was depicted, while the Assyrian ideograph, being punched in clay by a wedge-shaped stilus, has long since lost its identity, and become a conventional sign without the simplicity of an alphabetic system.

When the great discoverer Champollion had solved the difficulty of the character, he grappled in a masterly manner with the much greater difficulty of the language. He assumed with justice that Coptic must occupy to old Egyptian the position occupied by modern Greek to the ancient language: and fortunately Coptic, though dead as a spoken language, saw not, linguistically speaking, extinct; the tradition of interpretation and an ample literature had survived. Through the Coptic he approached the ancient Egyptian, and with marvellous success. He made known to astonished Europe a language of high grammatical development, but of a separate and distinct type. It has been asserted by some, that it occupies a middle position betwixt the Semitic and Aryan families in their earliest stages. Our knowledge of that primitive period, confessedly anterior to the first germ of the inflectional system, is not sufficient. It is safer to call it a Chamitic language: it possesses obvious and marked Semitic affinities, both in its vocabulary and grammar; but it possesses also elements common to Nigritic languages, and has been classed in a group of North-

East African languages. We are confessedly, as yet, not arrived at any fixed opinion on this very abstruse subject; and it must be remembered that this language had come into existence 3,000 years B. C., on the most moderate calculations.

The literature which has come down to us, and which we shall describe further on, indicate that it is no savage and uncultivated language: it could only have arrived at the state at which we find it after a long period of settled civilization. A grammatical treatise would be tedious to read and to write; but we must note, that gender is indicated by a final *to*, as in Semitic, and the plural number by a final *u*. Cases were formed by prepositions; and it is remarkable that the preposition had not reached the stage of a crystallized particle, but varied in gender and number with reference to the word governed. Adjectives take the plural suffix, and follow their noun. The pronouns appear in one form when detached, and in another when suffixed, with a strong Semitic resemblance in both cases. With regard to the verb there is an apparent difference of opinion among the highest authorities; for Brugsch Bey gives a list of thirty-two tenses, and a certain number of moods, while M. LePage Renouf states that there are no tenses at all. The root remains unchanged, and the variations of time are expressed by particles, and the delicate instrument is capable of sounding so many notes; but whether they are grammatical tenses, or syntactical groups of words, is a question more of detail than of principle: it is enough that the verb can be so handled as to express all these shades of meaning, a precision to which neither the Semitic Hebrew nor the Aryan Keltic ever arrived. Another feature is that the pronominal suffix attached to a verb is a reality, and has not passed, as in Semitic languages, into a form: for, if it is used to imply "he does a thing," it is *not* used when the agent is expressed "the man does a thing"—showing that a consciousness existed of the meaning of the suffix. The syntax is very regular, and position alone often determines the meaning: the sentences are very short, full of metaphor and antithesis. The same laws of human thought regulate all languages, and Egyptian sentences are generally short and easy of analysis: but there is a want of logical completeness in the structure, and much of the details of modern expressions has to be supplied. As the speaker supplemented his imperfect mode of expression by gestures of face, hand, and body, so the Egyptian attempted to make clear his expression by determinative and special ideographs, or painted pictures, and he has succeeded. Nothing is more remarkable than the yearning of this great people to communicate with after-ages, and not to let their great acts be forgotten; and after the lapse of centuries their wishes have been granted.

One of the great differences betwixt their language, and the Aryan and Semitic families, is that the distinction betwixt roots, stems, and words, can hardly be said to exist. The bare root, which in other families of languages lies as it were, below the surface, and is only revealed by its developments to scientific inquiry, and is, in fact, only a grammatical expression, is almost invariably identical in Egyptian with the word actually in use. From one Aryan or Semitic root are formed all parts of speech by certain laws, but the Egyptian root itself is potentially verb, noun, adjective, adverb. The word "aa" may be an adjective "great," or a noun "a great one," or a verb "to be great" or an adverb "greatly" accordingly as the sentence requires. Any particle with the suffix "u" will form a plural noun: thus, "hem" means "in," and "hemu" those that are in, or "the inhabitants." The shades of meaning are formed by combinations of the auxiliary verbs, of which there are several, and certain prepositions—perhaps the English language may be described in the same way. It is unnecessary to add, that there is much discrepancy in interpretations, and much that is not susceptible of interpretation: the ideas of man at that remote time ran in a very different channel, and even where the language-difficulty is got over, the meaning is not intelligible. We hear the same complaint from Max Müller with regard to Vedic Sanskrit; there are whole verses which yield no sense, and words at the meaning of which only guesses can be made: and this in spite of commentaries and tradition uninterrupted. Between us and the old Egyptians there is an impassable gulf, unbridged by tradition. We grope darkly amidst the *debris* of a ruined world.

The use of suffixes led to ambiguity, three suffixes were possible in connection with a verb—one for the subject—and one each to represent the nearer and remoter object. Imagine, "I gave it to him" expressed in such an elliptic form: and as there was no distinction, as in Hebrew, betwixt verbal and nominal suffixes, the same phrase would translate "thou hast made," or "made for thee." Many a point arises in Egyptian literature to show that we are in a very early and remote stage of intellectual development, though one equally remote from savage and unlettered life.

Compound words are not frequent, but they occur in sufficient numbers to show that the genius of the Egyptian language is not as repugnant to compounding as that of the Semitic languages; but it is a compounding of a very elementary character, far removed from the grand system of Aryan word-architecture. In the long period from Menes to the Christian era, we are made aware of certain gradual and insensible changes of the language. By the time of the nineteenth dynasty, phonetic decay had pro-

foundly modified the language. We cannot tell what change had taken place in the living speech, for antient orthography then, as now in English, was adhered to long after the pronunciation had altered; and even the old language, however extinct in practice, continued to be used in writing until the time came when the Demotic felt its strength and supplanted it. This is a common phenomenon in all countries,—there is a limit to the life of a language, whether it be Hebrew, or Sanskrit, or Latin, unless it has the power, like the English, of assimilating new forms, and embracing new vocabularies. Free from all the shackles of grammatical forms, with the suppleness of the Romance and the material strength of the Teutonic family, and the heir of all the Greco-Latin wealth, it seems destined to be the world-language of future ages. Such was not the character of the Egyptian language. In its solitary stream from its unknown reservoir, it borrowed nothing from its neighbours, who, as far we can tell, were in a state of unlettered barbarism. It had no models by which to form itself, no contemporary literature to act and re-act upon it. The Aryans and Semites; wherever they migrated, always found races who had been there before them, and their languages show traces of the admixture; but the Egyptian stood alone, and as it had borrowed nothing from its neighbours, so it gave off no new languages to its colonies or its conquests, and left but scant traces of its vocabulary in the languages of its neighbours. The Egyptian words in the Hebrew Scriptures do not exceed a score. It was a piece of marvellous good fortune that enabled the Coptic to live on through the Middle Ages into a period of linguistic sympathy, and thus be the interpreter to us of the antient and entirely forgotten Egyptian.

The system of writing admitted of great variation, and this materially helped the decipherer. The same matter was found in demotic, hieratic, linear hieroglyphic, and sculptured hieroglyphic; every word could be expressed by an ideograph, or picture, alone, or preceded by an alphabetic group, spelling out the sound, and followed by a determinative; or instead of an alphabetic group there could be a syllabic group, spelling out the sound in syllables; or the ideograph could have a phonetic complement, spelling out a portion of the word; or the whole of these expedients might be used collectively followed by a determinative of sounds, and a determinative of meaning. Moreover homophones were numerous. In this way figures helped to explain sound, and sound figures: a value once established in one text helped to explain another. To express the phrase "the bull died"—probably there would be written "was on death the bull:"—An auxiliary verb and preposition written alphabetically; then "death" written phonetically—(alphabetic or syllabic) with an ideograph,

and determinatives of sound and meaning, and then the article written phonetically, and "bull" in the same detailed way as "death."

There can be no doubt that the ideographs were in their first conception the painting of one idea. This was the "Mimic" stage—a cow was represented by a cow, and the product of the cow by a cow and a jar. Then followed the Metaphoric stage: "Knowledge" was expressed by a "jackal," the "pen" represented "writing." The step from these symbolic signs to determinatives of a class depended on the progress of the mind from the individual to the general, from the concrete to the abstract. The step, by which syllabic signs were formed, was a still greater triumph over matter. It implied the intentional separation of the *entire* sound from the *meaning* of the word: and the next step was the selection of the ideographs of certain words to represent the *first* letter of that word only, and thus on the acrostychic method to form an alphabet. The great vice of the system, which lasted to the end, was the existence of polyphones; and the fact that the signs selected to play the part of syllables and letters, still kept their ideographic powers to be used at pleasure; so that there was ample room for confusion and errors. Add to this the errors of the copyist, which were numerous, and the fact, already noticed, that much of the surviving literature was not intended for any living eye, and was therefore carelessly copied by scribes, evidently ignorant of the meaning. The usual way of writing on the papyrus was in vertical columns from top to the bottom, and then to the top of the next line. On monuments the writing was arranged to suit the sculptor, or architect, but the animals point always to the direction from which the writing is to be read: the materials to which this precious knowledge of the Egyptians was committed consisted of wood, papyrus, terra-cotta, and such hard substances as granite, basalt, breccia, or calcareous stone.

IV. What, then, of literature has come down to us? Vague rumours of the wisdom of the Egyptians had survived in history. Every child reads of Moses being learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and we know pretty surely that many of the actual documents now submitted to our eyes existed for centuries anterior to Moses, being buried out of his sight; and that many of the monumental inscriptions, certainly the obelisk at Heliopolis, the place where Joseph was married, and the Pyramids, must have been seen by him during the forty years of his youth and manhood. We might have expected to have found some evidence of this wisdom in the writings of Moses; which, however, present no trace of such culture, but were written in a Phœnician character in a totally different language, bearing traces of the wear and tear of centuries of a civilized life, elegant, refined,

and developed, and very unlike the language of those who had been shepherds in Canaan, and slaves and makers of bricks in Egypt.

Of the books of the Egyptians some notice has come down to us in classical authors, specially of the books of Hermes, which were forty-two in number; the canon had been closed in the time of Psammetichus. The last six related to medicine. The others were in classes: songs, horoscopes, hierogrammatic, ritual, sacerdotal. One with certainty has survived from this collection, *viz.*, the "Book of the Dead," called also the "Ritual of the Dead": and to another a place may be assigned with probability, "The Medical Papyrus." Whatever has survived to our times has survived in a state of mutilation more or less severe. Some papyri, such as the Royal Papyrus of Turin, is in a bad state of decay. Much restoration of text and meaning has to be made by all translators, and here lies another vast cause of divergence of opinion. Until within the last few years, it was difficult to get at the texts which had been translated in France, Germany, and England. In the series of the *Records of the Past*, published by the Society of Biblical Archaeology, three volumes are dedicated to translations of Egyptian texts, revised and corrected by the authors, the most distinguished living Egyptologists. At the end of the third of these volumes is a long list of texts to be printed in future volumes; and beyond them, as we gather from the opening preface, is an unlimited number of texts which await translation in the different Museums of Europe.

And let us consider for a moment the nature of these documents, thus suddenly placed at our disposal. They are not copies of copies, with error multiplied on error, by the fraud of the interpolator, the carelessness of the scribe, the crime of the forger:—they are the original literature of Egypt, and nothing of any particular value is of a date later than that of Herodotus: graven on stone, painted on walls, buried away in tombs, they have been marvellously preserved. How poor in comparison to them appears the earliest stone monumental tablet of India, contemporary with Alexander the Great, and the earliest Sanskrit manuscript about the thirteenth century of our era. What have the Semitic family to boast of in the Moabite Stone, not very long anterior to Psammetichus, and the earliest Hebrew Manuscripts about the date of the Norman Conquest? There is no room for fraud, at least of the kind which we have to fear: the errors of the copyist can be controlled by the multiplicity of copies. Stone monuments betray the attempt to interpolate and alter. The spite of Thothmes III. against his sister, which led him to substitute his name for hers on the monuments, is betrayed by his omission to sub-

stitute the masculine gender for the feminine in the context. Old disputes on theological matters, old family quarrels, stand out evidenced by mutilation rather than fraud.

These revelations have come upon this generation by surprise. A wiser posterity will weigh well the new evidence supplied for the writing of history. It is all very well for the 'Commentator of Isaiah in the Speaker's Commentary to ignore the discoveries made with regard to the Assyrian Monarch on the Cuneiform monuments; the wiser commentator on Genesis has accepted and utilized the Egyptian revelations. For Biblical exegesis these documents supply contemporary information, lying outside all polemical influences, all sectarian bias; they have not been manipulated by the early Fathers, or altered to suit the ignorant preconceptions of an ignorant age. There they stand; they cannot be ignored, and it would be a grievous error to reject them. Whatever uncertainties may exist during the novelty of the study from the variety of interpretations of imperfect scholarship will gradually subside. Additional data are supplied yearly; a profounder inspection brings unexpected solutions of difficulties. It may safely be stated that there is no greater discrepancy among Egyptologists than in translations made from other languages in the dawn of philological scholarship: we may go further and say, that there is not more than what is good for eliciting the truth; had there been a wonderful consensus, there would have been no argument and room for serious doubt. Moreover, there is an agreement between English, German and French scholars on the main facts to a striking extent; indeed, it was from the circumstance of the representatives of the three great nations, who agree about nothing else, being entirely of one mind at the International Congress of Orientalists at London on the main features of the Egyptian discoveries, that the attention of the writer of these lines was first drawn to the study of this subject, which had previously appeared almost visionary and conjectural, while in truth the knowledge acquired is absolute, and fixed on a solid base.

M. Pierret, in the volume quoted at the commencement of our paper, gives brief and accurate information on every subject connected with Egypt. Under the word "Papyrus" he enumerates all the celebrated papyri, specifies the name by which they are known, generally that of their first finder, and the contents. Under the head "Literature," he states that there are specimens of nearly every kind of composition. History is supplied by the numerous public and private inscriptions, tediously long and vain-glorious, yet published under the eyes of contemporaries; the Royal Papyrus of Turin, the Harris Papyrus of London, and other official papers are *bond fide* historical documents, the

pulp of history. The "Book of the Dead" opens out a wonderful chapter of mythology. How came Moses to give such imperfect notification of a future state, that, even down to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Sadduceism was an open question, when he must have known the contents of this wonderful book, based on a conviction of judgment after death, of rewards and punishments weighed out by unerring wisdom? Each Mummy is found with a copy or extract of this document on papyrus, on the vestments or on the coffin: the deceased is instructed as to the questions which he will be asked and what he is to answer. The soul declares itself to be free from sin and defilement: a code of stern morality is disclosed, and in Horus he will be justified. Tedious, confused, lost in vain repetitions, inconsistent, unintelligible, still this book stands out as a wonderful disclosure of human thought groping after God, if haply he could find Him; of human responsibility to a Power greater than any earthly king; of human equality before his Maker; of human weakness and need of a Saviour to support him during the dreadful passage through Hades, when the soul leaves the Mummy swathed in bandages and appears before Osiris on his throne and the Forty Judges, in the Hall of Two Truths, hoping by the help of Horus to get to the boat of the Sun. Of such first-rate importance is this book, and so numerous are the copies, and so great are the variations of the text (for portions of the book date back to the fourth dynasty, and the received text published by Berlir is of the date of Psammetichus some two thousand years later) that it was determined at the London Congress to employ a competent scholar to collate all the texts in Europe and Egypt and publish a revised text; and M. Naville of Geneva, has been entrusted with this task. Moreover, in that long period it must needs that the religious convictions of the people must have undergone modification: it is proposed to publish one text of the date of the old empire, one of the new, and a third of the period of Psammetichus, when decay of national life had commenced.

We might pause to reflect of the consequences which would have arisen if instead of the single copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, as arranged by Ezra, and translated into Greek by order of Ptolemy, we had every sepulchre in Judæa yawning to give up copies contemporary in date with Moses, Samuel, Solomon, and Josiah, and large portions transcribed on the walls of the temple of different dates, reflecting the varying sentiments of the parties in power:—many a cobweb-theory would then be brushed away.

We next come to the hymns and litanies to the Sun, Amen Ra, the tutelar god of Thebes, known to the world as Jupiter Ammon, the great Providence who maintains the harmony of creation, and renews life: they abound in pure and lofty senti-

ments, and whatever may have been the practice, they have a monotheistical note pervading them. Such expressions as this occur—"He is not carved in stone;" "he is not seen in the images of the gods, nor are prayers offered before him;" "no man knoweth his abode;" "vain are images of this form." And yet the nation was sunk in deepest idolatry and Nature-worship.

Under the head of Ethics we have in the Papyrus Prisse a specimen of a moral treatise of the old empire: it is the very oldest intelligible hieratic book, and therefore the oldest book in the world. It commences with a complaint launched against old age by Ptah Hotep, a Magistrate, who decided his last case before Abraham was born. But even then he was a *laudator temporis acti*; he looked back on better days and good old times, and prated about the degeneracy of moderns. Even then at this remote date the gentler virtues had found their chronicles. We find chapters on obedience, control of temper, reverence to the great, benevolence, chastity, respect for women, wisdom in council, and fear of God. Some author has fancied that the Egyptian wife of Solomon, some ten centuries later, must have had a copy of this antient treatise in her library, and have suggested to her husband his "Proverbs"; but a larger survey of mankind, from China to Peru, from the time of Menes to the time of Victoria, suggests the real truth, that moral saws are the outcome of every clime and every age:—they are the bubbles, which rise to the surface of the bowl, the waters of which are stained with blood and abomination, the more defiled the waters, the purer the bubble-proverbs.

The next class is one which was to be expected, *viz.*, Magical books. We have heard of the profession of magic from Moses. The great Harris Magical Papyrus has been translated. Notions of this kind underlie the intellectual life of all the older nations. We find these strong in Chaldæa: the Jews could not free themselves from them. In civilized nations the subject is a thing of the past, but we cannot speak with contempt of the long series of statesmen and warriors who, in their time, bowed their heads to the Magician and Astrologer. They had before them the insoluble question of good and evil; the riddle of joy and sorrow, the miserable exigence of life with its accidents, pains, wants, sickness, and death; the toss-up lottery of good and evil luck; and they fancied that they could control, could circumvent, could escape, by the help of Arts, then considered illicit, and now deemed ridiculous.

The Medical Literature was somewhat allied to the preceding. The chemical art derives its very name from Egypt,—as the "Alchemy" of the Arabs can most surely be traced to "Cham,"

the most antient name for Egypt. The great Ebers Papyrus dates back to the old empire, and is known as the Medical Papyrus, and is only one of many. The whole process of Mummy-making was in itself a science. The study of medicine can be carried back by these documents to the very earliest dynasties.

The Epistolary documents of the Egyptians are very numerous and very interesting. We have some eighty letters of the age of the great Rameses, on various subjects from various writers; others seem to be collected as if for general circulation: they are specimens of style, and illustrations of manners. We see how the papyrus was folded up and sealed and addressed. At that early period the scribe had already fallen into the inevitable snare of formality, conventionality and humbug, generally; at the close of a string of common-form expressions follow two or three words with the gist of the matter, preceded by the word "Memorandum" in red ink, showing that the tedium was felt and avoided, though good manners compelled the maintenance of the practice. There is a bundle of letters, about the date of the Exodus, some on domestic matters, asking why the supply of ducks and vegetables had not been sent; some on the subject of the chase; some in a moralizing mood, contrasting the hard life of the husbandman with that of the scribe, and one profession with another, anticipating the first Satire of Horace by fourteen centuries.

The works of fiction are the most marvellous revelation. Two precious papyri have preserved us two romances—one in Hieratic and one in Demotic character; the latter, strange to say, found in the tomb of a Coptic Christian monk, as if the worthy man weary of his chants and litanies had taken some light Pagan literature to solace him in his coffin. The first romance is the "Tale of Two Brothers," and its date is about 1300-1400 B.C. Let us consider the literature of the new world, and reflect whether any old tale is older than this, which we read in the original manuscript, composed for the edification of the Royal Princes. It need scarcely be said that the story hinges on the conduct, and the bad conduct, of a woman. In fact here we read the story of Potiphar's wife with variations, an appeal to the Deity by the injured Joseph, and the instant interference of the Sun-God; then follows a succession of marvellous events of a type quite peculiar to Egypt, turning on constant transformations of the outward body, accompanied by a personal identity of the soul: the cattle have the power of speaking, the most unheard-of events take place, but virtue triumphs. The whole of the story is translated in the *Records of the Past*.

The Romance of Setne belongs to a much later date, 300 B.C., but the grammar and form of expression are identical with its

predecessor, though one thousand years had intervened; but we have no certainty but that the papyrus which has passed into our hand may not be an oft-repeated copy of a favourite author.

Of Epic poetry and Biography we have specimens. The *Pentaur* has been called the Egyptian *Iliad*. We find copies of this poem on the walls of a temple at Thebes, and of a temple at Abu Simbul in Nubia near the Second Cataract. These are in hieroglyphics, but papyrus copies in Hieratic are in the museums of London and Paris. The subject of war, that iniquity of kings, had commenced long ago. Rameses II, the Sesostris of Heroditus, had commenced his campaigns against the Kheta, (whom we recognize as the Hittites of the Israelites in subsequent centuries), the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and the Dardanians, in fact all Western Asia. Of course the king triumphed, defeats were never recorded; of course he performed countless acts of personal valour and slew thousands:—"Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona," and here they are, for these victories were anterior to Troy by a century, and the same king was the one who oppressed the Israelites and compelled them to build Store cities. The victories of Thothmes III, and Seti I. are also recorded on the temple walls at Thebes in strains rising far above the level of prose. Amen Ra is made to appear and grant the known world to his favourite; including even Assyria, where proud monarchs in after ages have left inscriptions, in which the God Ashur gives everything to them. A few centuries later we have the boasting inscriptions of the Achoemenides that Auramazda had given everything to them. Another inscription of a later date tells of the conquests of Menephthah, the son of Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the exodus; and introduces the names of the Sardinians, Sicilians, Lykians, Tyrrhenians, and Achæans into a poem written with all the fire and detail of an Epic.

Of an equally interesting character is the narrative of the travels of an Egyptian general in Palestine and Phœnicia in the time of Rameses II. We have here geographical details of the highest interest, coupled with details of private troubles. Our traveller gets robbed at one place, and confesses to a discreditable flirtation at another, which led to his being fined; this took place at Joppa, while the Israelites were in bondage in Egypt. Another tale is worthy of notice, "The Story of Saneha" from its extreme antiquity. There was a certain change in the language and character, which came about during the long interval of the Hyksos usurpation, which enables the compositions of the Old Empire to be unhesitatingly distinguished from those of the New. And this tale belongs to the Old Empire, and the copy which has come down to us bears on its face the fact of being a copy of an earlier document. The story turns upon the loss by a

rustic of his asses, and an appeal to the sovereign. The papyri were found in a tomb, as if they had been copied by the deceased or had been interesting to him during his life.

As if to evidence the maturity of the intellect of the people of that period, we have also specimens produced of satirical poems, accompanied by pictures, and not sparing even the sovereign. In one picture Rameses III. is depicted as a lion seated at table, playing at chess with one of his wives depicted as a gazelle. It is clear from the picture, that the monarch is having his own way as to the rule of the game, and that the unfortunate female feels that to win the game might entail loss of life. We have also specimens of those animal fables which have been the delight of all ages. The fable of the mouse and lion appears in its earliest form, with words placed in the mouth of each animal; and the lion is characteristically addressed as "O Pharaoh," shewing that it was but a title.

We must pass over the legal documents throwing a light over judicial processes. We hear of conspiracy against the life of the sovereign fully inquired into, and a special court of inquiry upon a sacrilegious violation of the tombs of the kings, made as far back as the eleventh century B.C.; showing that the work of pillage so well followed up in all succeeding ages had already commenced.

This is but a faint and imperfect sketch of this wonderful literature. Weighed in comparison with these documents, the Hebrew books, even those that came from Moses, cannot be deemed old; and when it is recollected that the manuscript that has come down to us, is gathered from copies of copies in unknown succession, it can scarcely be brought into comparison on the score of authenticity with the actual originals or early copies, which the sands of the desert have preserved for us in Egyptian tombs and temples. What shall be said on the score of the language and character? If a dim and unknown antiquity must be predicated, to allow of such a language, such a religion, and such a written character coming into existence in Egypt, still there is a simplicity and an archaic character in the word-lore and its unchanging root, as well as in the sentence-lore, and the hieroglyphic character strongly contrasting with the Phœnician alphabet used for the Hebrew Scriptures, and the highly elaborated language, showing marked signs of the wear and tear of centuries. "Let there be light" is presumedly the first utterance heard. How many centuries were required to work out the Hebrew clothing of those words, the apocopated third person singular of a future with an affix? And yet the Israelites believed in their time, and many good Christians still believe, that they were the *ipsissima verba* of the Creator.

V. We have but small space to mention the names of the great dead and living scholars, who since the year 1821 A. D. have founded this branch of science. Perhaps there has been less din of war in this branch of oriental study than in others, arising perhaps from the nobility of character and commanding genius of the leading scholars. Diversities of opinion in many matters of details there are; but since the snarls of Klaproth and Seyffortt against Champollion have been silenced, and Sir Cornewall Lewis' plea for ignorance has been forgotten, honest and honourable rivalry betwixt the French, German, and English schools has been the order of the day.

In England, Dr. Samuel Birch of the British Museum for many years alone upheld the study. He assisted Bunsen throughout his great work, and in the fifth volume published the first Egyptian grammar and dictionary. To him we are indebted for translations of texts, and the series of texts in the *Records of the Past*. M. LePage Renouf has published a practical Egyptian grammar, and has translated numerous texts. The Rev. Canon Cook has done good service by applying the knowledge of Egyptian to the elucidation of the Pentateuch in the Speaker's Commentary. It is possible to differ from him in the conclusions drawn, and yet praise his method and learning. Mr. Goodwin and Professor Lushington have also translated texts. This, indeed, is the great service, that all Egyptologists can render, viz., to add to the stores of literature, and thus increase the vocabulary. Unfortunately there is no crop of young scholars: neither the State nor the Universities find it within their scope to advance, or keep up, the knowledge of this antient language: there is no endowed chair for a Professor. Lectures are indeed gratuitously given, and the British Museum places its unrivalled collection of monuments and papyri at the disposal of students. Something more is required.

In France Champollion shed a bright lustre over the discovery, and the French Government sent out an expedition of explorers to Egypt under his control. His Grammar and other works stand out in heroic proportions.

To him succeeded Viscount de Rongé in the Professorial Chair at Paris, and advanced the science in every way. His famous paper on the connection of the Phœnician with the Hieratic Alphabet marks an epoch in our knowledge.

Maspero has made use of Egyptian discoveries to advance historical inquiries. Mariette Bey in Egypt has, under the orders of the Khedive, made such researches, and brought together at Boulaq such a Museum as would have been impossible under less favourable circumstances. Pierret is the custodian of the Egyptian Museum at the Louvre; and, with other works, has published

a Dictionary of Egyptian Archæology of remarkable practical use. In the death of Deveria there was a heavy loss to science, but he left a catalogue of the Papyri of the Louvre Museum to recall his name. Chabas has made numerous and valuable contributions to periodicals devoted to Egyptology, and among others to the *Records of the Past*, which has the great merit of collecting together the works of numerous authors. These are but the most famous, and these also have devoted themselves primarily to this one study; but besides them there are others who have utilized the acquired knowledge for works of a general nature like Lenormant, or studied Egyptian in its bearing on other languages. The students of Coptic might also be noticed.

Among the German students, Chevalier Bunsen stands conspicuous. He made the country his study during life, and treated the subject from every point of view. In his great work "Egypt's Place in History," he made use of Dr. Birch and Prof. Lepsius, to a most unusual extent. His method was heavy, and it requires patience to drag through the lengthy argument, and a feeling of relief comes to the reader when, according to the off-repeated Hebrew whine, he escapes from "the land of Egypt and the house of bondage." In Lepsius we have the real successor of Champollion. He devoted himself at an early age to the study; he visited the museums of Europe, and eventually conducted the Prussian expedition to Egypt. There we met him in the prime of his youth in 1843; and at the Oriental Congress of London of 1874, we again came face to face with the grand old man. It is as difficult in a few words to state what we are indebted to this great Scholar, Archæologist, Decipherer, as to read during the forty years of his study what advances have been made in Egyptology. In the different towns of Germany there are great Egyptian scholars, who have each left their mark,—Ebers, Eisenlohr, Lauth, Duemichen, Stern; in Coptic there have been great scholars, one of whom, Schwarye, compiled the first and most complete Grammar. We must not omit Brugsch Bey, who has had special opportunities in the service of the Khedive. He has opened the road to the study of the Demotic form of the Egyptian language, and has published a Grammar of Demotic, as well as one of the antient Egyptian; and has given forth numerous translations of texts, as well as ingenious historical and geographical theories, which no one but himself had the opportunity of forming.

Italy has produced students of Egyptian Antiquities, and her Museums are filled with the Spoils of the Egyptians. In M. Naville of Geneva the science has one of her youngest and most promising scholars. In Vienna Rejnesch contributed; and Denmark in the last century sent forth Zoega to pave the

way for Champollion, and has in Lieblein a worthy representative.

In the small series of books called the *Records of the Past* are published the remarkable documents of the Egyptian and Assyrian Nations, which have survived the wreck of ages. With one nation the Jewish History begins, with the other it ends. Their national life was a miserable oscillation betwixt the attracting and repellant powers of the two great kingdoms of the Nile and the Tigris. Over and over again was Judæa traversed by the hostile armies even when the Bible narrative is silent: the power of the Philistines, who occupied a few strongly fortified towns on the Mediterranean, was no doubt based upon Egypt: Damascus and the Hittites represented the adverse influence from Mesopotamia. It is remarkable to notice in what these great rival powers resembled, and in what they differed. Both were exceedingly powerful, exceedingly warlike, far advanced in arts, very self-conscious, and desirous to leave their mark for future ages, very religious in their way. Both were great builders, great decorators; both invented, or borrowed from independent sources a phonetic system of writing, and covered their public buildings with inscriptions, much of which has survived to our time after having been concealed for centuries. We must conclude that the Jewish people were less civilized, or less careful of future fame, or less fortunate; for no one inscription has come down to us of the age of the Jewish Monarchy, a date comparatively late in Egyptian annals, and contemporary with the numerous inscriptions of Nineveh, and the solitary one of Moab.

The Egyptian nation borrowed nothing: in its long solitary career it skimmed the meltpot of civilization without predecessors, and without rivals. It invented everything, and left to ungrateful posterity the splendid legacy of an Alphabet. Papyri are now unrolled, which were deposited in mummy-cases long before Abraham visited Egypt; and the carelessness of copyists, who fancied that their handywork would never see the light, has not escaped the critical acumen of an after-generation. The early Egyptians grasped fully the notion of a life beyond the grave, and a future judgment: but their religion and worship found no sympathy in other nations. Aphrodite sprang from the foam at Cyprus, and laughed down the Egyptian Athor; and with Zeus from Crete, and Apollo and Diana from Delos, extinguished the Egyptian Triad.

If the fate of Egypt was that of Pompeii, to be choked in ashes and sand, the fate of Assyria was that of Herculaneum to be buried alive. The Roman knew nothing about Nineveh, save the merest fables; the Greek fought the battle of Arbela almost on the soil that covers the ruined palaces. The Assyrian

had borrowed every thing from a predecessor of a different race and language, whose very name he managed to stamp out of history. He succeeded in roughly adopting the Accadian mould of syllables to the Semitic material: the Medes and Persians borrowed the same mould, and adapted it to their Scythian and Aryan languages: but the system had no root, and it died there.

Not so the language, the civilization, and the legends. The Hebrews and Arabs caught up the grand melody of their extinct sister, and made further development and improvements of their own, handing them down, as revealed truth, from generation to generation; until the nineteenth century began to excavate the forgotten palaces, and found the germ of the legends carved on bricks and tablets which had provokingly refused to perish when empires and nations disappeared. So in fact by a strange fatality the method of writing employed by the Assyrians died, but their ideas and language lived; while on the other hand the ideas and language of Egypt died, while its alphabetical system is destined to live for ever.

ART. IV.—ANCIENT INDIAN METAPHYSICS.

FEW if any of our readers will have failed to mark the tendency among scholars to direct their efforts more and more to the investigation of the stages of opinion, usage, inquiry, and social inter-relation, through which mankind have passed. Their task is the construction of scientific history. The study of masterpieces gives way to inquiry what facts have co-existed in each state of the past, how each later has arisen out of each earlier stage of human culture. That man may be known as he is, he is to be known as he has been, through generation after generation. Stages of life, hitherto neglected by the inquirer as unworthy of his powers, are now seen to have the earliest claim upon his attention. The growth of the intellect, the expansion of the sympathies, are to be watched from the outset. It will be found that while much is variable, something is constant, through the successive ages, and that in the fixed order of things it is but slowly that many of the convictions of the higher man have risen into clear and distinct consciousness. First truths have been the latest to manifest themselves. The structure of our thoughts is to be studied in the race, not only in the individual. History as supplementary to introspection is to equip men for the fulfilment of their calling, to know themselves that they may remake themselves.

This, or something like this, is the ideal by which students are more or less consciously actuated. A new fabric of knowledge is in erection. No material requisite to this, be it precious metal, stone, wood, hay, or stubble, shall be rejected. No regard shall be had to the attractive or the unattractive. The work must proceed as it may, and at the last its beauty will come out from the symmetry of the whole. Such is the apology for many a life of irksome labour, unprofitable in the view of the ordinary spectator. At present the inquirer must be contented to look to the future, and work on with little appreciable result.

These views and these feelings are so far prevalent that a picture, suggestive and tentative as such a picture must at present be, of ancient Indian speculation, will be not without interest, for general readers. It is true that there is little that is attractive in the "holy jungle" of Indian metaphysics. Its highest representatives, Sankarāchārya and Mādhavāchārya will be seen to be at best but acute schoolmen, subtle expositors. Still the Indian systems, rude as they are, exhibit the intellect at work under peculiar conditions, and will take their place, whenever they shall have been thought out and clothed in European

terms in the future histories of philosophy. To every man, and to every generation, the same questions have presented themselves: What am I? what is all around me? what, if anything, lies beyond those surroundings? what is the explanation of the whole? Or, in other words, with what conception of the totality of things shall the curiosity be quieted or silenced? These questions have been asked in India as in Europe. Let us look at the answers which have been given to them in India. In this paper we shall look chiefly at the outcome of the earliest discussions, the Upanishads, in the Aupanishidî Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta.

In every age men have had some image or other of the totality of things to pacify their moments of reflection. In early times this image is impressed from without rather than constructed from within. It enters, bringing with it a mass of beliefs rude and incoherent, which spread abroad and are handed down unscrutinised. These are purely customary and sentimental products of general, not of individual, interpretation. By them, and partly by the necessities of social order, the earliest prescriptive custom is shaped out. The poet and the priest are they that add to their colour and form. Philosophy first emerges in the attempt to purify and to systematise these beliefs and to adjust them to a higher state of popular sentiment. And this is at first the work of the bolder or more gifted priests and poets.

To the early Aryans or semi-Aryans of India the powers of nature presented themselves as so many personal agents. Volitional activity was the only mode of unexpected or imposing change thinkable or expressible in language. Their representation and interpretation of all that took place around them was anthropomorphic. This was not a poetical fashion of talking, but the conception and the language necessitated to them. "Man's* early tendencies," are constantly leading to a wide and vague application of his whole nature, to see himself in everything, to recognise his will, and even his sensations, in the inanimate universe. This blind analogy is almost the first hypothesis of childhood. The child translates the external world by himself. He perceives, for example, successions under the law of causality, but he adds to this causality his own consciousness of voluntary effort. He perceives objects under the law of extension, but he has little conception of an extension which should overpass his own power of traversing it. The child personifies the stone that hurts him; the childhood of superstition (whose genius is multiplicity), personifies the laws of nature as gods; the childhood of philosophy (whose genius is unity) made

* Archer Butler : *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy*, p. 194.

the world itself a living breathing animal, whose body Nature was, and God the soul."

Thus was it that to the ancient Indian a multitude of personalities manifested themselves in rain, in fire, in wind, in storms, and in the sun. In ever-varying aspects they stood above or round about mankind, ready to befriend or to injure them.*

Sky and earth are the father and mother of gods and of men. Aditi, the unlimited visible expanse, is the mother of chiefs, and of heroes. Mitra, presiding over the day, calls upon men to bestir themselves, and watches all things with unwinking eye. Varuna, ruling the night, gives a cool place of rest to all that move, prepares a path for the sun, sends his spies through both the worlds, knows every wink of men's eyes, cherishes truth and hates falsehood, seizes the evil-doers with his noose, is besought to have mercy on the sinner. The As'vins youthful, lustrous, and beautiful, go out in their golden car before the dawn, bringing health and riches to men. Ushas, the daughter of the sky, untouched with age, but bringing age to men, dispels the darkness, drives away the lurking enemies, comes to every house, wakes the sleepers, sends men to their work afield, makes the birds to fly aloft. Agni, variously generated, the offspring of the fire-drills, fed with butter, carries the offering to the gods, brings the deities to the sacrifice, is internunciary between gods and men. Sūrya proceeds through the sky in his chariot drawn by seven mares, seeing all things, looking upon the good and evil works of men. Indra, ruling the firmament, overthrows Vritra the demon that obstructs the brightness of the sky, splits the clouds with his thunderbolt, dashes the water to the earth, restores the sun to the heavens, protects the Aryan colour, and destroys the dark and degraded Dasyus, godless, prayerless, neglectful of sacrificial rites. Parjanya, the thundering rain-god, scatters showers from his water-skin and fills the earth and sky with fatness. "The winds blow, the lightnings play, the plants spring up, the sky fructifies, the earth teems for the good of all, when Parjanya visits the earth with moisture." The Maruts, or storm-gods, armed with lightning, clothed with rain, make darkness in the day, water the earth, and avert the heat. Soma, the mountain-growing milk-weed, invigorates the gods, exhilarates men, clothes the naked, heals the sick, gives eyes to the blind. With Yama, the regent of the dead, departed spirits abide in happiness amidst the fore-fathers of mankind.

Such and many others were the bright beings around them. It was well to flatter them with hymns, to feed them with butter, to intoxicate them with the juice of the moon-plant. Thus dealt

* *Rig-veda* i, 185, 1.

with they would become friendly and fatherly, and would send rain, food, cattle, children, and length of life.

All this has been told a hundred times. What concerns us here is that in all this vivid imagery and child-like belief there is little or nothing of moral or spiritual significance. A sinner is one that withholds prayer and praise and sacrifice from the gods, the robber, demon, or savage who infests the Aryan settlements. The pious man is he who flatters, and feeds, and bribes the gods.

δῶρα θεοῦς πείθει, δῶρ αἰδοίους βασιλῆας.

The gods eat the offerings, and give in return the good things of life, rain, food, cattle, chariots, wealth, offspring, health, prosperity, a hundred years of life. Pleasures are to be enjoyed again in the after-life in the body in the realm of Yama.

As among other primitive races the sacrifices were offered as gifts, as compensation for mistakes or transgressions, that is, for dues withheld, and as necessary sustenance. The spirit of the Vedic sacrificer is that of the Maori feeding the wind :—

“Lift up his offering,
To Uenga a te Rangi his offering,
Eat, O invisible one, listen to me,
Let that food bring you down from the sky.”

How much of this spirit went down to later times the Bhagavad-gītā may testify :—

“Prajāpati of old, after creating beings with the rite of sacrifice, said : By this shall you propagate yourselves : be this to you the cow of plenty. Sustain with this the gods and let the gods sustain you : sustaining each the other you shall attain the greatest happiness. Fed with the sacrifice the gods shall give the food that you desire. He that without giving to them eats the food they give is a thief indeed. The good who eat what is left from the sacrifice are loosed from all their guilt, but they eat sin who cook for themselves alone. Living things are made of food ; the food proceeds from rain ; the rain proceeds from sacrifice ; the sacrifice from ritual.”

In the age of the Rishis the Indian tribes had reached a certain degree of order and prosperity. They were gathered together into villages and fenced cities, in houses of mud and of stone, under chiefs and princes. They tilled the soil, irrigated their fields with water-courses, tended flocks and herds, and following their individual aptitudes worked as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, boat-makers, weavers, leeches, warriors, poets, priests. They fed on their flocks, drank soma and wine, and amused their leisure with games and spectacles.

With tranquillity and leisure as usual came uneasiness and inquiry. The poets began to speculate about the origin of the heavens and the earth. Sometimes they thought them made by the gods, or by one or other of the gods, after the manner of a human artisan. Sometimes they thought them generated by the

gods after the analogy of human parentage. Of earth and sky one of the Rishis inquires: "Which of these was first, and which was last? How came they into being? Sages, who among you knows?" * "What was the forest?" asks another, "what the tree from which they cut out the sky and the earth, abiding, not wearing out, while the days and many dawns have worn away?" In one hymn they are the work of Visvakarman. In another it is Hiranya-garbha that arose in the beginning, the lord of existent things, that establishes the sky and the earth, that gives life and breath. In another it is Varuna, either alone, or associated with Mitra, that fixes the heavens, metes out the earth, and dwells in all the worlds as ruler. Agni, sometimes the son of heaven and earth, is at other times said to have stretched out the earth and sky, to have inlaid the sky with stars, and to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves. In other places it is Indra that has generated the sun, the sky, the dawn; that sets up the luminaries in the heavens, that upholds the two worlds, the waters, the plains, the mountains, and the sky. Elsewhere it is Soma that generates the earth and sky, that puts light into the sun, and stretches out the atmosphere. In another hymn Aditi, the illimitable visible expanse, is all that is: "Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother, and father, and son. Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born, Aditi is whatever shall be born." The five tribes are Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vāśyas, Sūdras, and Nishādas.

In the celebrated Nāsadiya-sūkta, Rig-veda X, 129, the universe arises out of darkness and chaos:—

"Nonentity was not, nor was entity. No air was then, no sky above. What shrouded all? Where? In the receptacle of what? Was it water, the deep abyss? Death was not then nor immortality. There was no distinction of day and night. That one breathed stilly, self-determined: other than or beyond it there was naught. Darkness there was wrapped up in darkness. All this was undifferented water. That one that was void, covered with nothingness, developed itself by the power of rigorous contemplation. Desire first, rose in it, which was the primal germ: this sages seeking with the intellect have found in the heart to be the tie of entity to nonentity. The ray stretched out across these, was it above or was it below? There were generating forces, there were mighty powers, a self-determined entity on this side, an energy beyond. Who, indeed, knows, who can declare whence it issued, whence this creation? The gods are on this

* *Rig-veda* x, 31,7. This question is answered in the *Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa* ii. 8,9: Absolute self was, the forest, absolute self the tree, from

which they cut out the sky and the earth. See Muir: *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v, p. 32.

side of its creation : Who then knows whence it came into existence ? This creation, whether if any made it, or whether any made it not ? He, who is the overseer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows, or haply knows not."

It will be seen below how this hymn is explained by the Indian schoolmen to contain implicitly the cosmology and theology of the Vedānta. Their interpretation may be strained, but it is likely to be nearer to the design of the ancient Rishi than any we can put upon it, with our thoughts determined as they are by wholly irrelevant antecedents. In examining Sanskrit literature we cannot be too cautious of being guided by our hereditary preconceptions. The poet appears to suppose a state of things in which the one undifferenced being, spoken of under spiritual predicates, and therefore to be conceived as absolute self, exists side by side with some inscrutable principle spoken of as darkness, undifferenced water, nothingness, neither entity nor nonentity. Thus associated the one undifferenced passes into plurality and difference. If this construction be approximately correct, we certainly have in this hymn the rude materials of the absolute Egoism of the Upanishads, and the illusionism of the Vedānta, a doctrine branded by Vijnāna-bhikshu in the Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣhya as the modern invention of crypto-Buddhists and false professors of the Vedānta. It will however soon appear that it may be questioned whether this illusionism or something like it be not the earliest philosophy of India, and whether Buddhism itself be not the acceptance of this philosophy, coupled with the rejection of the transcendent self as underlying the cosmical illusion, the knowledge of which the Brāhman arrogated to themselves as their exclusive right, and the substitution for it of a void or blank. Buddhism, as it is well known, originating among the non-Brāhmanic classes, offered itself to mankind as a catholic religion. However this may be, in this hymn we are brought to the dim and misty twilight that foreruns the dawn of Indian philosophy. As yet everything is confused and indistinct, but personalities are giving way to abstractions in the interpretation of the outer world. Philosophy can only be said fairly to exist when men begin to strive to shape for themselves a clear, distinct, and consecutive conception of the totality of things.

In Rig-veda X., 72-2 we read : "Brahmanas-pati has forged these births (of the gods), as a blacksmith blows his flame : in the primal age of the gods entity came forth out of nonentity."

In the Purusha-Sūkta, Rig-veda X., 90, the fabrication of the world, the genesis of the Rik, the Sāman, and the Yajush, of the Brāhman, Rājanya, Vaisya and Sūdra, is from the sacrifice of Purusha by the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis. "Purusha

has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. He, compassing the earth on every side, stands ten fingers' breadth beyond. Purusha is all this, that which has been and that which is to be: the lord also of immortality; that which grows up with food. Such is his greatness, and more than this is Purusha: a quarter of him is all existing things, three-quarters that which is immortal in the sky." The Vedic hymns belong to widely different periods, and this is regarded as one of the latest. The exposition of Sāyana, or as he is otherwise called Mādhavāchārya, in the language of the Vedānta, will be detailed below.

The hymns made in generation after generation by the Rishis, who describe themselves as fashioning them as a wheelwright fashions a chariot, or as begetting them, or as sending them forth, or as having received as fabricated or generated by the gods, were handed down orally from age to age, till they came to be regarded as of inscrutable origin and authority. They were denied to be of personal invention.

* The Rishis had seen them. An elaborate sacrificial system had grown up, and ritual and legendary commentaries were constructed in the several Vedic schools. In these are further indications of an after-life and of retributions after death. Of these certain portions to be read in the solitude of the forests were styled Aranyakas. And from the Aranyakas proceeded the Upanishads, the treatises from which emanated the later Indian philosophy and theosophy.

The ancient Aryan tribes had become more and more assimilated to, and absorbed into, the earlier and ruder populations. "† The old Sanskrit literature proves that the Aryan population of India came in from the North-West at least three thousand years ago. And in the Veda these people portray themselves in characters which might have fitted the Gauls, the Germans, or the Goths. Unfortunately there is no evidence whether they were fair-haired or not. India was already peopled by a dark-complexioned people more like the Australians than anyone else, and speaking a group of languages called Dravidian. They were fenced in on the north by the barrier of the Himalayas; but the Aryans poured from the plains of central Asia over the Himalayas, into the great river basins of the Indus and the Ganges, where they have been in the main, absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language, and a literature." It was apparently in consequence of this intermixture that they took up the doctrine of metempsychosis, as they adopted the cult of S'iva, and

* *Rishi* = *mantradrashtri*, Sāyana. Texts, vol. ii. p. 285. Cf. Carpenter

† Prof. Huxley, in Muir's Sanskrit text: Human Physiology, p. 894.

reinstated the usage of widow-burning. * S'iva or Mahadeva is thought to have been introduced as an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north, and to have been grafted in upon the ancient religion by an identification with Rudra the howling-god of tempests, the father of the Maruts. "The sacrifice of widows prohibited in fact, and retained in symbol, in the Vedic funeral rites, prevailed originally among all the Aryan tribes."† It appears to be not a new invention by the later Hindu priesthood, but the revival, under congenial influences, of an ancient Aryan rite belonging originally to a period earlier even than the Veda.

The doctrine of transmigration appears to be another mark of degradation from intermixture with the earlier and lower races. The ancient poets had looked forward to a second life of pleasure in the body among the fathers of mankind under the rule of Yama. As to punishments in a future state they are silent. ‡ In later days a passage of the Satapatha-brāhmana relates how Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, visiting the four extremities of the world saw men cut into pieces and eaten by others. These being asked by Bhrigu what this meant, said that they were revenging upon their victims the injuries they had suffered in the former world. Thus, in the later Vedic period, the Hindus had begun to "§ coin their own hopes and fears, their own æsthetic preferences and repugnances, their own ethical aspiration to distribute rewards and punishments among the characters around them—into affirmative prophecies respecting an unknowable future, where neither verification nor elenchus was accessible." A work which they carried out into minute and revolting detail, when they had come to accept the theory of metempsychosis.

Personality and exertive power, such as that of which they

* Muir: Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 393 sqq.

† Tylor: Primitive Culture, vol. i. p. 420. C.f. 419: "The Aryan race gives striking examples of the rite of funeral human sacrifice in its sternest shape, whether in history or in myth that represents as truly as history the manners of old days. The episodes of the Trojan captives laid with the horses and hounds on the funeral pile of Patroklos, and of Evadne throwing herself into the funeral pile of her husband, and Pausanias's narrative of the suicide of the three Messenian widows, are among its Greek representatives. In Scandinavian myth, Baldr is burnt with his dwarf, foot-page, his horse

and saddle: Brynhild lies on the pile by her beloved Sigurd, and men and maids follow them after on the hell-way. Old mentions of Slavonic heathendom describe the burning of the dead with clothing and weapons, horses and hounds, and, above all, with wives. Thus St. Boniface says that "the Wends keep matrimonial love with so great zeal, that the wife may refuse to survive her husband, and she is held praiseworthy among women who slays herself with her own hand, that she may be burnt on one pyre with her lord."

‡ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 322

§ Grote: Plato, vol. ii, p. 205.

are conscious in themselves is, by the lower races, associated with the figures of the dead seen in dreams, or in those life-like visions with which from their long fastings and their use of narcotic drugs they are so familiar. These figures are to them the surviving souls of the departed. They make no such distinction as the higher races make between the souls of men^{*} and the souls of inferior creatures. In their dreams and visions they see the figures of both alike before them, and in their every-day experience they find in both alike the manifestations of life and death, of discrimination, and of preference and repugnance passing into outward energy. “* Savages talk quite seriously to beasts alive or dead, as they would to men alive or dead, offer them homage, ask pardon when it is their painful duty to hunt and kill them.” Plants and trees also like animals and men thrive and grow, or wither and decay. They, too, have some kind of soul or principle of life. But the savage faith in surrounding personalities stretches far beyond the limits of the organic world, and takes in a conception much more alien to the modern mind. “Certain high savage races distinctly hold, and a large proportion of other savage and barbarian races make a more or less close approach to a theory of separable or surviving souls or spirits, belonging to stocks and stones, weapons, boats, food, clothes and ornaments, which to us are not merely soulless but lifeless.” Even Rāma is presented with such animated weapons:—

†Facing the east, the glorious saint
Pure from all spot of earthly taint,
To Rāma, with delighted mind,
That noble host of spells consigned.
He taught the arms, whose lore is won
Hardly by gods, to Raghu's son.
He muttered low the spell whose call
Summons those arms and rules them all;
And, each in visible form and frame,
Before the monarch's son they came.
They stood and spoke in reverent guise
To Rāma with exulting cries:
O noblest child of Raghu see,
Thy ministers and thralls are we.

† “Among the North American Indians, we hear of the Powhatsans refraining from doing harm to certain small wood-birds, which received the souls of their chiefs; of Huron souls turning into turtle-doves after the burial of their bones at the feast of the dead; of that pathetic funeral rite of the Iroquois, the setting-free of a bird on the evening of burial, to carry away the soul. In Mexico the Tlascalans thought that after death the souls

* Tylor : *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, p. 258.

‡ Tylor : *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 6.

† Griffith : *Rāmāyān*, vol. i, p. 115.

of nobles would animate beautiful singing birds, while plebians passed into weasels and beetles and such-like vile creatures. In Brazil the Tecunas are said to have believed in the transmigration after death into man or brute; the Icannas say that the souls of the brave will become beautiful birds feeding on pleasant fruits, but cowards will be turned into reptiles. In Africa, again, mention is made of the Maravi thinking that the souls of bad men become jackals, and those of good men snakes. The Zulus, while admitting that a man may turn into a wasp or lizard, work out in the fullest way the idea of the dead becoming snakes, a creature whose change of skin has so often been associated with the thoughts of resurrection and immortality." The belief in transmigration appears again in ancient Egypt. It comes before us in the philosophy of Empedocles, in the teachings of Pythagoras; and as a possible explanation of the pre-existence and post-existence of the soul, and of the inequalities of life, in the tentative and sceptical dialectics of Plato. To the Platonic Socrates, in the *Phædo*, as to the Hindu and Buddhist, philosophy is the only method of disengaging the soul from its successive embodiments. The souls of rapacious men and despots are to pass into the bodies of wolves or kites, those of men of uninquiring, unreflective social goodness, into the bodies of bees or ants; it is philosophy alone that purifies the soul, detaches it from the body and raises it to communion with the eternal and unchanging forms. In the vision of the future at the close of the *Republic*, bodies are chosen by souls after their periods of purgation in the turns they draw by lot. The spirit of Orpheus chooses the life of a swan; that of *Thamyras*, the life of a nightingale; that of the *Telamonian Ajax*, the life of a lion. The doctrine seems to have been derived by the earlier Greek philosophers from Egypt or from India, and to have been taken up by Plato for suggestive illustration and imaginative embellishment. It was adopted by the Jewish Cabalists in the *Gigul neshāmoth*, or revolution of spirits, till their re-entrance into divine substance; and lingered long in Europe in the heresy of the Manichæans and of the sectaries that succeeded them. In the nineteenth century it reappears in the speculations of *Fouriér* and *Jean Reynaud*.

* The doctrine took a firmer hold upon the ancient Indian thinkers from its apparent explanation of the vicissitudes of life and the unequal allotment of earthly good and evil. *It

* "Nos âmes, avant d'apparaître, sur cette terre, ont vécu déjà dans d'autres mondes : car comment rendre compte autrement du mal physique et du mal moral ? Comment expliquer autrement que les hommes naissent dans des conditions si inégales, avec des prédispositions et des inclinations

si diverses ? Tout se comprend, au contraire, si l'on admet que nos âmes sont arrivées ici-bas chargées des fautes d'une vie antérieure. — En ce sens nous avons tous commis le péché d'Adam, et nous l'expions tous." *E. Poitou* : *Les Philosophes Français contemporains*, p. 46 (*J. Reynaud*).

cleared the Demiurgus or supreme constructive intelligence from any charge of partiality and cruelty. If the strict follower of prescriptive custom is seen to suffer like other men, or even to suffer evils worse than others suffer, he is only eating the fruit of his actions in a former embodiment. These, or their abiding influences cling unseen to the tenuous involucre, the *linga-sarīra*, the invisible transmigrating body, which made up of the vital, sensitive and intellective organism, is associated with the untransmigrating transcendent self, and passes through the series of visible and tangible bodies.

It was yet further strengthened by the conviction that self was the only thing which could be neither made nor unmade, the one reality, ingenerable and indissoluble. The distinction had been early taken between the permanent and the fluctuating, the real and the phenomenal. “* The notion of being, as distinguished from phenomenon, corresponds in its original signification with that which the mind conceives as permanent and unchangeable, in opposition to that which is regarded as transitory and fluctuating.” Henceforth two principles continued to rule the whole metaphysics of India. Firstly, that what is, has not ever not been, nor can it ever cease to be, the real is eternal, *ab ante et á post : Nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate satah : Οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γίνεσθαι οὐδὲ φθίρεισθαι τῶν ὄντων*.

† “In the world of permanence there is and can be no change, otherwise the permanent would not be permanent; in the world of being there is and can be no change. All change is the cessation, or putting off, or not being, of one state or determination, and the putting on, or being, of another state or determination. But in the world of being there can be no not-being of any state or determination, because this is the sphere of pure unmixed being, and not-being is absolutely excluded from it. And, therefore, inasmuch as not-being is absolutely excluded from this sphere, and inasmuch as not-being is essential to constitute change, it follows that all change is necessarily excluded from this sphere. In other words in the world of being there is no change, no creation, no becoming; that is, no coming into being and no going out of being; here is a mere dead unvarying uniformity.” Secondly, that what is not constant, or eternal, is generable, mutable, dissoluble, has had a beginning and shall have an end, *παντὶ γενομένῳ φθορὰν εἶναι*. “If the world of change included being, it would include the permanent, because being and the permanent are identical; but the permanent is excluded from the changeable by the very terms of the conception; therefore being is excluded from the world of change; in other words, in the world of change there is no being.” Now, self was the one constant

* Mansel : Metaphysics. p. 8.

vol. 1., p. 106, p. 108.

† Ferrier : Lectures and Remains.

and abiding fact in every act of knowledge, amidst all the fluctuation of the things known. Self then had had no beginning and should have no end. As it is known, it is associated with body, but to assume this body to have been the first to which it was allied, would be a wholly arbitrary proceeding.

* "Aristotle tells us that the ancient philosophers were afraid of nothing more than this one thing, that anything should have been made out of nothing pre-existent : and therefore they must needs conclude, that the souls of all animals pre-existed before their generations. And, indeed, it is a thing very well known that, according to the sense of these philosophers, these two things were always included together in that one opinion of the soul's immortality, namely, its pre-existence as well as its post-existence. And therefore the assertors of the soul's immortality commonly began here ; first, to prove its pre-existence, proceeding thence afterward to establish its permanency after death. This is the method used in Plato : our soul was somewhere before it came to exist in this present human form, and from thence it appears to be immortal, and such as will subsist after death. And the chief demonstration of the soul's existence to the ancients before Plato was this, because it is an entity really distinct from body as matter and the modifications of it ; and no real substantial entity can either spring of itself out of nothing, or be made out of any other substance distinct from it, because nothing can be made

ἐκ κενου ἐνυπαρχοντος ἢ προϋπαρχοντος.

The apparent connection of the self with an organism and an extra-organic environment of objects ultimately resolvable into pleasure, pain, and indifference has proceeded from all eternity. Pleasure, pain, and indifference are the three *primordia rerum* of the Indian philosophers, the triple rope which confines the personal self to transmigratory experiences. They seem to have been equally facile in admitting the possibility of sensations apart from sentient beings and sensible things, with the most thorough-going modern experientialist. On the one side stands the absolute self, neither knowing, nor feeling, nor acting, nor suffering. On the other, pleasure, pain, indifference and all that emanates from them. And between them mediate certain common sensories or intellects, *per se* unconscious, and emanations from the unconscious *primordia*. It is only when the absolute self shines upon, or irradiates these intermediary intellects that consciousness and conscious activity come to light. The absolute self is not cognitive in our sense of the word cognitive, but illuminative. By its light all

this world shines forth ; *tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti*. Consciousness and conscious activity arise in this manner, and continue only so long as the intellect, the senses, the vital breath, the body, are illusorily identified with the transcendent self. Identifying these with self, the transmigrating soul is actuated by desire and aversion, activity begets merit and demerit, merit and demerit necessitate further embodiments for the experience of the inevitable sequel of pleasures and pains. Births from works and works from births have proceeded in a recurring series from all eternity, like plants from seeds and seeds from plants, *vijānakuranyāyena*. The object world or sphere of fruition of merits is co-eternal with the transmigrating souls. It exists only that they may eat in it the fruits of their past actions, and that they may strive to extricate themselves from it. Action uneaten dwindles not away in thousands of millions of æons : *nābhuktam kshīyate karma kalpa-koti-satair api*.

This sphere of fruition or environment of transmigrating souls is generable, changeable, dissoluble ; it is projected from, sustained by, retracted into its emanatory cause. It rolls like a wheel unceasingly :

* Nec perit in tanto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,
Sed variat, faciemque novat ; nascique vocatur
Incipere esse aliud, quam quod fuit ante, morique
Desinere illud idem : cum sint hæc forsitan illa,
Hæc translata illuc : summâ tamen omnia constant.

“One is born, another dies, one passes beyond his troubles, another comes into an evil plight, unaccompanied : for father, mother, brother, son, and spiritual guide, his relatives, connections, friends, weep for a little space, then leave the lifeless body as it were a block, a clod, and depart with averted faces. Merit, and merit only, follows the body they forsake. Let men therefore still seek righteousness for their follow-traveller. Brought on its way by merit the soul shall rise to a high elysian state. Accompanied by demerit it shall pass to a place of torment. Therefore the wise should seek merit by riches rightly earned ; for merit is the only fellow-sojourner in a further life.”

To the earliest Indians, as painted in the Vedic hymns, life was satisfying and pleasurable enough. They besought the gods for their full hundred years of it, and for an after-life in the whole body. With the belief in transmigration came discontent and despondency. What had they to look forward to but grief and pain, broken it might be with intervals of pleasure itself empty and unsatisfying, the loss of those they loved, sickness, decay, and death, through an endless succession of embodiments. Each

present suffering, intolerable as itself might be, must be expected again and again. Even the merit that gained a sojourn in elysium, or the rank of a deity, must sooner or later be exhausted, and the soul descend to some lower sphere of experience. The pleasures of a paradise are tainted with the fear of their expiry, and with the disparity of conditions even there. “*As the station attained by works in this world fails, even so fails the sphere won by sacred observances in a further state.” “†Surveying the spheres won by merit the Brahman should attain to exemption from desire.” A sojourn in a paradise is the highest reward offered to the observer of Brāhmanic ritual and prescriptive custom, but paradises and purgatories alike are but halting-places in the never-ending journey. Merits, equally with demerits, are to be shunned; both alike necessitate further transmigration. ‡Merits and demerits are alike sin to the aspirant to the highest end of man, extrication from metempsychosis, the final cessation of pain, the isolation of self from all cognition, feeling, and action, the attainment of a state of pure indetermination, retraction into undifferentenced existence.

§ “Leaving undone the Vedic ritual, and doing that which he is forbidden to do, his spirit deluded by the things of sense, a man goes to a place of pain. Fulfilling the rites ordained and shunning that which is forbidden to him, a man shall pass into a pleasure-giving body in elysium and higher spheres. Not in these ordinances shall he find spiritual isolation with its exemption from all further embodiments; for the reward of ordinances is generable and therefore transitory.

“Thus all the rites, the Jyotishtoma and the rest, have no power to carry a man to the further shore of this sea of metempsychosis. Skiffs for fishing at sea, little and unsteady, cannot cross to the land beyond, but fretted by the curling waves, fill with water, rock from side to side, seem about to sink, and fill those within with fear. So is it with these boats of sacrificial ordinances, drifting out upon the transmigratory sea tremulous to the waves of lust and wrath, frail, and fitted, only for the fishery of happiness in paradise and higher spheres. The rowers of those are the sacrificer and his wife, and the sixteen priests, the Adhvaryu and his fellows. No steersman is there, no self-mortifying spiritual guide, in these boats of ritual upon the sea of transmigrations, no favorable wind. Who would enter upon that sea trusting to boats so frail and every moment ready to founder of themselves? Let none in quest

* Chhândogya Upanishad, viii. 1, 2.

† Mundaka Upanishad, 1, 2, 12.

‡ Tarati pāpmānamd harmādhara-

mākyam : Sankarāchārya, on Mundaka Upanishad, iii. 2, 9.

§ Atmapurāna, xvi. 68—95.

of real felicity seek to cross in these the sea of transmigrations, fitted as they are only for fishing for elysian joys. They that take them and joyously abide in them reach not to that further shore. Their skiff is overset by the waves of lust and anger, they rise and sink upon the waters of decay and death, undergoing countless sorrows, urged with unceasing weariness of these fleeting lives. Still upon the sea of transitory embodiments, upon the waters of illusion, like fishermen they spend their days in giving pain to living things. Foolish, and wise, in their own conceit doing evil to themselves and others, they drift to and fro upon that ocean of illusion. They know not that which they should do, they know not their own selves; by thousands they are like the blind led by the blind. Led by the liturgist so these that know not their own selves, and that yearn after paradise, are upon that dreadful sea of passing states, upon the waters of illusion. Or of themselves ever the thralls of lust and wrath, like wretched beings possessed of evil spirits, they know not their own misery. Little-minded they think that they have all they can desire, and laugh and sing like evil things under the fatality of works. Infatuated by this fatality they find their highest image of felicity in the body, that haunted tree infested by the evil spirit of concupiscence. Rejoicing in the ruin of their enemies and in the prosperity of their friends, held fast by unconcern as by a monster of the sea, they know not that bliss that is the essence of their own souls. Thinking ordinances the highest good, engrossed in their passing lives, these all reap the fruit of their merits, till that failing at the last, they fall from bliss, with pain and sorrow. At the hour of death the rich with their children around them are filled with anguish: such is the sorrow of those in paradise upon the expiry of their merits. At the hour of death great is the anguish of a thriving prince: such is the sorrow of those in paradise upon the expiry of their merits. In paradise itself they are dependant and helpless. As in this world is the sorrow of the rich at the loss of their riches, such is the sorrow of the celestial sojourners at the loss of paradise. In the performance of the rites there is pain, in reaping the reward of the rites there is pain, at the exhaustion of the recompense there is the direful pain of being born again into the world. For into what shall the living soul pass upon its return from paradise, into a high, a middle, or a low embodiment, or shall it be born into a region of punishment?"

The early Indians had, as we have seen, searched for some

* This simile is taken, like that of the boat, from the Mundaka Upanishad. "Like the blind led by the blind they fall into a pit or amidst thorns and briers." Sankaracharya. Mundakopanishadbhāṣya, 1, 2, 8.

explanation, that is for some satisfying conception, of the origin of things, under the impulse of curiosity. The belief in transmigration gave a sharper stimulus to the search, that some escape might be found from that continuous succession of painful states, from the imagination of which they shrank with so much horror. How* to extricate himself from further transmigration became henceforth the great concern of the wise man.

In seeking for an *ἀρχή*, a principle on which the mind could rest as having found unity in the infinitude of things, they had laid hold of that distinction between the one and the many, the real and the apparent, the permanent and the fluctuating, which was to determine all their future efforts. The one, the real, and the permanent, they identified with that which as unmanifested lies beneath the manifested, as infinite and unrelated, lies beyond the finite and related, necessitated to negative thought and withheld from positive conception.

In the world around them they found that everything was in ceaseless change and fluctuation, everything was generable and corruptible. And all these things were, they declared, ultimately resolvable into pleasure, pain, and indifference. That of which the environment of transmigrating souls was made, must be something of which these three, the cords which bound those souls, were the constituents. With the Sāṅkhyas, accordingly, the *ἀρχή* is an emanatory principle consisting of pleasure, pain, and indifference in a state of co-equality *gunatraya sāmāyāvastharupā prakṛitih*. With the Vedāntins the world is made of an illusion-projected illusion, an unreal unreality, pleasure, pain and indifference in a state of co-equality, illusorily overspread upon the impersonal self from time without beginning. This fictitious illusion or unreal unreality is *avidyā, trigunātmikā māyā gunatraya sāmāyam māyātattvam*.

But looking inwards they found something one and continuous amidst all the variety and fluctuation of phenomena. There they found not only modifications, but that which underlay the modifications, not only a plurality but a unity in which that plurality was contained and summed up. They declared therefore that the one, the real, was self, the impersonal or transcendent self, *ātman, Brahman, puruṣa*. To the Vedāntins its unity was absolute. It was "one only without a second." * "This self is absolute, there is nought before it, nor after it, nor within it, nor without it." To the Sāṅkhyas its unity, which as certified in S'ruti, the inscrutable revelation, they could not refuse, was community: there was a plurality of transcendent selves co-ordinate, but not co-identical. † "Self or the *me* is the common

* Chhāndogya Upanishad.

† Ferrier : *Institutes of Metaphysic*, p. 75.

centre, the continually known rallying-point, in which all our cognitions meet and agree. It is the *ens unum et semper cognitum in omnibus notitiis*. Besides the *ego* or oneself, there is no other identical quality in our cognitions—as any one may convince himself upon reflection. He will find that he cannot lay his finger upon anything except *himself* and say,—“This article of cognition, I must know along with whatever I know.” The *ātman* or self of the Indian philosophers is, however, not the *ego* of which we are conscious, but the *ego* identified with the unmanifested, transcending consciousness.

Self, as real, is ingenerable and uncorruptible, without beginning and without end. It is not modified in cognition, feeling, and volition, for it is as real, unmodifiable. * Transcending the relation of subject and object, it is a † mass of objectless cognition. It is existent, intelligence, and beatitude: existent as the one and only imperishable being; intelligence as self-luminous, as giving light to all things, making to appear all that does appear; beatitude ‡ as exempt from all evil, pain, and sorrow. Ever pure, intelligent, and free: pure as § without desire and passionless, or as apart from illusory limitations, *nirupādhika*; intelligent, as irradiating all things; free as || unaffected by all transmigratory conditions. It abides apart from and beyond pleasure, pain, and indifference, the factors of all experience.

“It is not born, it never dies, it knows all, it proceeds from none, and none proceeds from it, unborn, eternal, undecaying, it perishes not when the body perishes.”

Self, as unmodifiable, neither knows, nor feels,* nor desires, nor wills, nor acts, nor suffers. All the cognitions, feelings, and exertions, which the uninitiated attribute to the self, belong in truth to their *per se* unconscious intellects or common sensories. These intellects or internal organs are emanations from *prakṛiti* or *avidyā*. They are dark, or as we should say unconscious, until the light of the transcendent self is cast upon them. It is by reflexion upon, or juxtaposition to, these that the one impersonal self passes, unrealy and in appearance only, into the many personal selves of this world of every-day experience. By the light of the transcendent self, which, be it ever remembered, is not cognitive but illuminative, the modifications of the common sensories, in themselves dark or unconscious, become luminous or conscious modifications. Self is the light of lights, beyond the darkness. ¶ “To it the sun gives no light, nor the moon and

* *Jñātrijñeya bhāratīrikta.*

† *Nityam nirvishayan jñānam,*
Upadeśasahadri.

‡ Kena Upanishad, II. 18, partly
re-produced in Bhagavadgītā, II. 20.

§ *Sarvānārthaduhkhāyāsapranakī,*
Mundakopanishadbhāṣya.

|| *Kāmādidosahavarjita,* Padayojana.

¶ *Sarva-sansara-dharmarahita.*

stars, nor the lightning, how then should fire ? That as it shines all the world shines after, by the light of that all this world shines forth."

Individual souls or personal selves are the universal or impersonal self, the absolute *ego*, as in juxtaposition to, or mirrored upon, that is, illusively identified with, the common sensories, or internal organs, so called as inclosed in the bodies of animated creatures. These internal or common sensories belong not to the real self, not to the absolute *ego*, but to the object world or environment of transmigrating souls. You, I, and others, are only the one impersonal self illusorily limited to this, that, or the other common sensory, and passing with the tenuous *involuca* from body to body. The absolute *ego*, the transcendent self illusorily limited by illusion, unreally conditioned by unreality, by that *māyā* that is co-eternal with itself, passes into innumerable personal *egos*, through the fatal operation of works, from time without beginning, in æon after æon. God is self,—not self *per se* but illusion-limited self. * "He should know that the emanatory *principium* is illusion and that the illuded is God, and that by the portions of that illuded one all this world is occupied." Diffused through the vital, sensitive, cognitive, and active organisms, which collectively make up the tenuous *involucra* the invisible integuments, *lingas'arīra*, of transmigrating souls, the illusion-conditioned self is Purusha, or Hiranyagarbha so-called either as contained within, or as containing, the mundane egg, or shell of the starry universe, *brahmānda*. Entering the gross or visible bodies of all sentiences the illusion-limited self is Virāt. Hiranyagarbha is also called the thread-soul, *sūtrātman*, as passing through all tenuous *involucra* like a thread. Thus, then, the absolute self passes into consciousness only in the totality of sentient beings or personal selves. God, as some of the Hegelians would say, is the universe in its higher manifestations.

To illustrate all this with the imagery of the Upanishads. The innumerable personal selves are to the one impersonal self, the absolute *ego*, like the many suns mirrored upon the ruffled surface of a sheet of water ; like the many waters of the same stream ; like the many rivers that rise from the sea to return to the sea again, their springs being constantly renewed with the waters which rise by evaporation from the ocean ; like the many sparks which rise from, and disappear into, the same fire ; like the ether occupying many water jars, which, when the jars are broken, passes beyond its apparent limitations into union with the ether indivisible and infinite.†

* Mundaka Upanishad, II, 2,—10, and Katha Upanishad, v. 15.

† Svetāśvatara Upanishad, iv. 10

Illusorily associated with illusion self-imagined the absolute *ego* is that which differentiates into name and colour, the audible and visible, *nāmarūpavyākārtri*. From self thus illusorily-limited emanate all things like and unlike itself as sparks and smoke, like and unlike, proceed from fire; as things movable and immovable proceed from earth, as nails and hair insentient grow from sentient man. Upon the transcendent self the whole flow of transmigratory states, the whole world of experience, is illusorily superposed by that indefinable illusion, which has imagined itself from all eternity. “*Illusion neither entity nor nonentity, nor both in one, inexplicable as real or unreal, fictitiously existent from and to all eternity.” All that presents itself to the personal self in its series of embodiments lies unreal above the real, like the blueness of the sky which we see there though there it is not, like the waters of a mirage, like the visions of the dreaming phantasy, like the airy fabric of a reverie, like a bubble on the surface of a stream, like the silver seen on the shell of the pearl-oyster, like the snake that the belated wayfarer sees in a piece of rope, like the gloom that encircles the owl amidst the noonday glare. The soul lies pent with the body as in a prison, illusion-bound. All the stir of daily life is like the gliding of the trees upon the river bank past the listless spectator in a boat that floats down the stream. All that is known, and done, and suffered, in life after life is the phantasmagory of a waking dream.

The silver seen upon the shell is, according to the Vedāntins, actually *seen* there, it is an object of presentative consciousness. Unreal silver has come into being. It is made of illusion, the mental representation of silver formerly perceived being merely a concurrent condition of its genesis. Its apparent existence is terminable by knowledge, by the recognition of the shell which is its illusory support. This termination of an unreal precept by knowledge is technically called its sublation, *bādha*. The doctrine of unreal production is technically called *asatkhyāti*, cognition of the unreal. It is opposed to the doctrine of the Naiyāyikas styled *anyathākhyāti*, cognition of a thing otherwise than as it is, the cognition of a thing under other modes or attributes than those which it really possesses. All the objects of our every-day experience are terminable by knowledge, like the silver on the shell, like the snake in the rope. They, too, have been illusorily superposed upon the real, the one and only impersonal self. They

* *Nāsaḥ rūpā na sadrūpā māyā naivobhayātmikā, sadasadbhāyām anirvāṇakā, mithyābhūtā sanātāni* : *Sān khyapravachanābhāṣya*, compare the kind of being allowed in the Platonic philosophy to the fluctuating parti-

culars of sense apart from the eternal forms of the reason: τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλῶν τό περί καί τῶν ἄλλων μεταξύ που κυλινδρεῖται τοῦ τεμῆ ὄντος καί τοῦ ὄντος εἰλικρινῶς.

are to be sublated by knowledge. The illusion from which they issue is relative to the unity of all personal souls in the absolute *ego*. They are to be sublated, the whole series of transmigratory states is to be brought to a close, for this or that personal soul, by the knowledge of the unity of all personal selves in the one transcendent Self. The existence of the silver on the shell, of the snake in the rope, of the waters in the mirage, is merely apparent, which may be sublated by every-day knowledge, *prātibhāsikī sattā*; the existence of the things about which we are conversant in our daily life, is a conventional existence, an existence allowed by common sense, which may be sublated by transcendent knowledge, *vyāvahārikī sattā*; the existence of the one and only real, of the impersonal self, or absolute *ego*, which cannot be sublated, is real existence, *pāramarthikī sattā*. From the higher point of view the existence of the silver on the shell, and of the silver of the coin which passes from hand to hand, is alike fictitious.

Here, then, is the *fonis et origo mali*, the root of pain, the source of metempsychosis. Self has been illusorily associated from all eternity with an inexplicable illusion, the real has been unreal, really overspread with unreality. Thus illuded self, through the retributive fatality of merits and demerits, from time without beginning has identified itself with that which is not self, with the body, with the senses, with the intellect. Hence it has been implicated, as innumerable personal selves, in unreal cognition, action, and passion, through life after life. * "From death to death, he goes who looks on this as manifold." And the disparate allotment of all this apparent experience has been determined by the retributive fatality of works; births from works, and works from births from time without beginning, as plant from seed and seed from plant. The process of the creation or evolution of this world, or place of fruition of merits for transmigrating souls, is as follows. From the illusorily determined impersonal self first emanates ether, from ether air, from air light, from light water, from water earth. From these in their imperceptible state, the subtle elements, emanate the tenuous *involutura* of transmigrating souls, made up of the five cognitive and five active organs, the intellect, the cogitant principle *manas*, and the five vital airs. The intellect together with the cognitive organs is the sensational wrapper, *viñānamayakosa*. The cogitant principle together with the five active organs is the sensorial wrapper, *manomayakosa*. The five vital airs together with the active organs make up the vital wrapper, *prānamayakosa*. These three wrappers together make up the tenuous *involutrum* of the transmigrating spirit, which accompanies it through all its

* *Mrityoh sa mrityam eti yā ihah naneva pasyati.*

wanderings. *The individual soul is the absolute self illusorily limited to this or that subtle frame to which adhere illusion, and its resultant desires, actions, and merits and demerits. The totality of these subtle bodies is the tenuous *involverum* of Hiranyagarbha. From the subtle elements, emanate with successive degrees of complexity, the gross or perceptible elements; from ether with the quality of sound, air, with the qualities of sound and tangibility; from air light, with the qualities of sound, tangibility and colour; from light water, with the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour and taste; from water earth, with the qualities of sound, tangibility, colour, taste, and smell. Each later element contains in it portions of each earlier element in the series, and the progressive complication is technically called quintuplication, *panchi-karana*. From these gross elements emanate the spheres of fruition of deserts for transmigrating souls, and the mundane egg, or shell of the starry universe, *brahmāṇḍa*, and the bodies of the various sentiences that people it. The absolute Ego as illusorily limited to the totality of visible bodies or gross integuments of the transmigrating, personal selves, is the spirit of humanity, Vaisvānara, so called as illusorily identifying itself with the totality of the souls of mankind; and also styled Virāt. These visible bodies are the nutritive wrapper of the transmigrating soul, its "muddy vesture of decay."

From metempsychosis there is but one mode of extrication. Illusion, with its enveloping and projective powers, has hidden from the self its real, and impersonal unity, and spread out that world of painful experiences, through which it passes in bondage, through the fatality of works. Merits, as we have seen, equally with demerits, serve but to prolong its slavery, the series of its embodiments, except in so far as they effect that purification of the intellect which is requisite in the aspirant to liberation. The fulfilment of revealed and traditional ordinances is relative to the states of fruition. † It leaves the curtain which veils the absolute still unlifted. The personal self can be delivered only by a knowledge of its own transcendent reality, a knowledge of the unity of all individual souls in the universal self that is for ever absolved from all transmigratory experiences. Knowledge of the absolute Ego is the only means of liberation. "He passes beyond sorrow that knows the transcendent self," ‡ "he that knows the absolute becomes the absolute," "being the absolute he goes to the absolute." Even this highest of cognitions, this intuition of the absolute self, is but a modification of the purified intellect,

* *Avidyākāmakāma vāsanānām
asraya lingam upadhir yasyātmanah
sa jivah. Ananda-giri.*

† Vedāntachinmous *passim*.
‡ *Tarati sokam ātmavit. Brahma-
vid brahmaiva bhavati.*

which must itself pass away, as the finite souls attain to isolation, to pure indetermination, to retractation, into undifferentiated existence. On the side of this cognition all works but those in actual operation, those that determine the present embodiment, are burnt up in the fire of transcendent knowledge. * "There is no purification equal to that of knowledge." The aspirant, liberated while yet living *jīvan-mukta*, must wait a little till his present body perishes, to enter into the one and only being.

The *karmavidyā* or knowledge of ordinances is requisite to the purification of the intellect of the aspirant to liberation. It is prerequisite to the *brahma-vidyā* or knowledge of the impersonal self, the only means of extrication from metempsychosis. "Brahmā," says the Mundaka Upanishad, "emanated first of all the deities, the maker of the universe, the sustainer of the world. He declared the knowledge of the absolute *ego*, the cognition that contains all cognitions, to his eldest son Atharvan. The knowledge of the impersonal soul which Brahma had declared to Atharvan, Atharvan declared of old to Angis. He delivered to Satyavaha the Bhāradvāja, and Satyavāha to Angiras that knowledge of the highest and the lowest. S'āunaka the great householder approached Angiras with all prescriptive formality, and inquired: *What, holy Sir, must be known that ALL this may be known?* To him S'unaka said: Two sciences, they that know the Veda tell us, must be known, the inferior and the superior. Of these the inferior is the Rig-veda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda, the phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, prosody and astronomy. The superior is that by which that undecaying is attained. That which none can see, and none can handle, that which has no family, and no colour, that which has neither eyes nor ears, nor hands, nor feet, infinitely diversified, everywhere present, altogether imperceptible, that is the imperishable which sages behold as the source of all. As the spider projects and retracts its threads, as plants spring up upon the earth, as from the living man grow the hairs of the head and body, so from the imperishable emanates this universe. With self-coercion the impersonal self begins to germinate. Thence nutriment emanates; from nutriment the vital air, the thinking organ, the elements, the spheres, and upon works the never-dying principle. From that knowing all and knowing everything, of which the self-coercion is knowledge, emanates Brahmā, and name and form, and the undeveloped."

What must be known, that all this may be known? What, as Sankārācharya explains the question, is the one emanatory prin-

* *Brahmaiva san brahmaiva bhavati Nāsti jñānasamam puritram.*

ciple from which all the diversity in the world proceeds? by knowing what we should know all things, as in the existing order of things, all individuals, individual pieces of gold for example are known, if we know the universals under which they are contained, the nature of gold and the like? The all-explaining principle must be the highest universal, the *summum genus*, and this is pure being, undifferentenced existence, identified with the transcendent self. "The very conception of reducing the diversified exuberance, the infinite plenitude of Nature, to the unity of one principle, showed a speculative boldness which proved that a new intellectual era was dawning on mankind. To perceive that truth was to be found in the one, and not in the many, was no insignificant discovery. To be convinced that a thread of simplicity ran through all the complex phenomena of the universe was the inauguration of a new epoch—was a great step taken in advance of all that had gone before—was, in fact, the very first movement which gave birth to science among men." "To set forth being as the universal, as that in which all things are identical, to declare that being is the truth of the universe; this, to us who live in these latter times, may seem to be a very trivial and unconstructive dogma. But we have to remember that we, as soon as we were born, have entered on an inheritance of thoughts and of words from which these early thinkers were altogether cut off. They had to think out and to devise what we find already thought out and devised to our hand."

†The inferior science is conversant about the conditions and results of merit and demerit, it is a knowledge of works, *Karma-vidyā*. This is set out in the *Rig-veda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Atharvaveda* and the *Vedāṅgas*. It has to do only with injunctions and prohibitions, and has no power to put a stop to illusion and the other imperfections from which transmigration results. The superior science is the knowledge of the impersonal self, to ‡be received from a traditionary spiritual director, and requiring as a preliminary indifference to all objects, to all means and ends. It is set out in the *Upanishads*, which are so called as annulling all further birth, decay, sickness and other miseries in those that apply themselves with all their soul to the knowledge of the transcendent self; or as bringing individual souls into union with the universal soul; or as abolishing illusion or one or other of the other causes of metempsychosis.

With self-coercion the impersonal self begins to germinate. The self-coercion of the absolute *ego* is a cognition, a contemplation of the things to be brought into being, that the personal

* Ferrier: Lectures and Remains hadbhāshya
vol. 1. p. 40, and page 92.

‡ *Guruprasāda-labhya*.

† Sankarāchārya: Mundakopanis-

selves, into which under its illusory limitations the absolute *ego* passes, may have fruition of their good and evil works. Thence nutriment emanates. Nutriment is the pabulum of transmigrating souls, the pleasure or pain of which they are to have fruition through the retributive fatality of works. It is the undeveloped matter of the various states to be assigned to the personal selves in their successive embodiments. This nutriment, the undeveloped, the *rudis indigestaque moles* of the forthcoming environments of individual souls, emanates from the impersonal *ego* passing into manifestation through knowledge and the power of projecting, sustaining, and retracting all sentiencies and their surroundings. "Out of this undeveloped or undifferenced, about to be differenced, and from the absolute *ego*, emanates Hiranyagarbha, the soul of the universe, presiding with knowledge, activity and power, over all the environments of transmigrating souls, the germinating seed of the totality of things existent through illusion, desire, and retributive fatality."

This undeveloped or as yet formless state of things, is illusion in its state of retraction into the undifferenced self, *pralayāvasthāpannāvidyā*. It is the later interpretation of the chaos the *Nāsadiya-sūkta*, in which "nonentity was not, nor entity." It is treated of in detail, with special reference, as the scholiast says, to that hymn, in the sixteenth chapter of the *Ātma-purāṇa*: "This was darkness, unperceived, characterless, unthinkable, unspeakable, dormant everywhere. Nonentity was not that which is now called non-existence: nor was entity that which is now styled existence. This covering of darkness was not the darkness which is exclusive of light. Before the creation, or evolution of things, ether and the other elements did not exist, nor day, nor night, nor the morning and evening twilights, nor the sun and other luminaries, nor the four kinds of living creatures. The emanatory *principium* was then a mass of darkness, neither like death, nor deathless, nor as yet illuding its own self. The material of name and form in the transmigratory environments, the undeveloped, the uncaused cause, knowable only from sacred institutes, was uncharacterised as yet. The material which has a *quasi* existence, but no real being, which is an entity without beginning, yet terminable by knowledge of the absolute *ego*; the material of the implication and actuation of the unimplicated and inactive self, dependent and unconscious, and marked with other unthinkable characters:—From that, from the near proximity of the impersonal self, emanated Hiranyagarbha, supreme among personal selves, proclaimed to be the totality of individual spirits. This supreme soul dwells in the eleven organs, the vital air, and the five subtile elements. From that emanated the five gross elements, and the supreme illusorily identifying himself with them is Virāt.

Residing in these gross elements the Creator of the world desired the mundane egg for his envelopment; and, through the efficacy of his desire, emanated that egg resting upon the waters, golden, brilliant as ten million suns, containing within it the seven worlds, containing time. The primeval Brahmā himself, the progenitor of the worlds, arose within that golden egg from Meru the bud of the earth-lotus."

A translation and analysis of the Nāsadiya-sūkta, Rig-veda, x. 129, according to the exposition of Sāyana, will further serve to show how the later Indian philosophy grew out of, or was grafted upon, the speculations of the ancient Rishis. It will serve at the same time as a further elucidation of the doctrines of the Vedānta. It must be premised that the environment of transmigrating souls being, like those souls, and the blind and fatal retribution of their works from all eternity, the world* has passed through creation or evolution, sustentation and resolution, or retraction into undifferentiated existence, through an infinite progress of æons. Sāyana tells us that the Nāsadiya-Sūkta first exhibits the state of things in which a former world has been 'dissolved, and a later world not yet evolved, the state of retraction, *nirasta-samasta-prapanchā pralayāvasthā*. "Nonentity was not, nor entity, no worlds were there, no sky above. What covered? Where? In the receptacle of what? Was it water, the deep abyss?" The primary material, *mūla-kāraṇa*, of the transmigratory environment was not in that state of retraction a nonentity. It was not a purely chimerical thing, an absurdity, such as the horns of a hare. From such a principle the existing world could not have emanated. It was not entity: it was not a reality like the absolute Ego. The primary material was neither nonentity nor entity, but inexplicable, a thing of which nothing can be intelligibly predicated. No denial of *all* real existence is intended, it being said further on: That one breathed without afflation. Real existence is denied, not of the impersonal self, but of the mundane illusion, *māyā*. Conventional or common-sense existence is next denied of the world in that

* Cf. Herbert Spencer: *First Principles*, p. 537.

"Apparently the universally co-existent forces of attraction and repulsion, which, as we have seen, necessitate rhythm in all the minor changes throughout the universe, also necessitate rhythm in the totality of its changes—produce now an immeasurable period during which the attractive forces predominating, cause universal concentration, and then an immeasurable period during which

the repulsive forces predominating cause universal diffusion—alternate eras of evolution and dissolution. And thus, there is suggested, the conception of a past during which there have been successive evolutions analogous to that which is now going on; and a future during which successive other such evolutions may go on—ever the same in principle but never the same in concrete result."

state of retraction. No worlds were there : the seven lower places of fruition, from the nethermost up to the world in which we live then were not. No sky above : the seven higher places of fruition from the space between the earth and the sun up to the place of Brahmā then were not. The mundane egg, the shell of the starry universe, had not emanated from the illusorily limited absolute self. The elements had not come into existence to cover or illusorily overspread the transcendent self. In the receptacle of what? There were no personal or transmigrating selves in the pleasurable and painful experience of which those overspreading elements could reside. Creation or evolution is for the fruition of merits by transmigrating souls. It is only in the state of evolution that the elements illusorily overspread the spheres of fruition, but in the state of dissolution now under description all personal souls had been merged into the one impersonal, through the retraction of their illusory adjuncts. There were then no places of fruition, no souls passing through pleasures and pains. There was no water, no fathomless abyss of misery. The text is relative to an intermediate state of universal dissolution.

"Death was not, then no immortality, no distinction between night and day. That one breathed without afflation by the self-supported ; other than that there was naught, beyond it nothing." In the state of universal retraction the retractator, here spoken of, death, did not exist. All the merits and demerits of all transmigrating souls, which by their ripening had determined in those souls experience of pleasure and pain, having been exhausted by fruition, there was no longer any end for which the world of transmigration conditions should exist. There had, therefore, arisen in the mind, the illusory adjunct, of the Creator, the purpose of retracting it. He accordingly retracts the world, his illusory adjunct is retracted, and he is no longer the retractator, but pure indifferenced existence. Time itself, in which all things are contained, no longer existed : there was no distinction of day and night. There was neither sun, nor moon, nor day nor night, nor month, nor year. That one breathed without afflation. Apart from its illusory adjunct the absolute *ego* has no breath, as the text says: Without vital air, without cogitant organ, pure. Breathing is literally predicable only of the personal or illusion-limited *ego*. When, therefore, breathing is attributed to that principle set out in all the Upanishads, it is added that its breathing was without afflation. The absolute *ego* had not as yet passed into innumerable personal souls. The words by the self-supported are added, lest it should be urged that the absolute *ego*, as apart from illusory adjuncts, can have no connection with illusion, and that therefore an independently existing emanative

principle such as that the Sāṅkhyas contend for must be supposed. *The self-supporting is illusion, as self-positing, self-contained. With that self-positing illusion, the absolute *ego* is in a state of non-separation. It is not *really* associated with illusion, but an unreal connection with illusion is illusorily superposed upon the absolute *ego*, in the same manner as unreal silver is illusorily superposed upon the shell of the pearl-oyster in the familiar illustration. There is an *appearance* of union between the cosmical illusion and the transcendent reality, but this is only for the unreflective, a fact of common sense or unrectified experience. To the reflective, the illusion is unintelligible, the transcendent self is real. † There was nothing else than it or beyond it: there was no world of elements and elemental things ulterior to the illusion-associated transcendent self.

"Darkness there was wrapped in darkness; in the beginning all this was undistinguishable water: that which was full of unreality, that one by the power of contemplation came into being." Before its evolution this world was involved in darkness, as all things at night are covered with darkness. Entitative illusion, *māyā*, is here called darkness, because it overspreads and conceals the absolute *ego*. ‡ The evolution of the universe is its emersion out of this darkness or illusion under name and form. The world has thus pre-existed in its material cause, and the teaching of the Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣhikas, that, in the genesis of things a hitherto non-existent thing is brought into existence, is thus discountenanced. All things have pre-existed from everlasting in their causes, yet there were in the state of universal dissolution, no worlds; there was darkness, that is, there was entitative illusion called darkness, the emanatory principle, with which its emanatory effects were then identical. All this was undistinguishable, the world was not distinctly cognisable under name and form as it is in its state of conventional existence, the state that is, in which, 'as at present, it has an existence sufficient for the transactions of every-day life. Water, *salila*, means either that things were then refunded into their causes, or that there was nothing to which they could be likened. The world was undistinguishable from the darkness or illusion, as water mixed with a certain proportion of milk, is undistinguishable from milk. 'It was full of unreality, over-spread with illusorily projected illusion, neither entity nor nonentity. That one, the totality of things as yet residing unified in their cause, emanated by the power of contemplation, through the efficacy of the survey of the things about to be created by the creative spirit.

* *Āśramin dhīyate, dhriyate, āsṛitya nāsī.*

varīta itī viddhā māyā.

† *Māyā sahitāh Brāhman's, nyat nāma āpāhyām yadāvīrbhavanam kinchana bhūtabhantikātmakam jagan tad evaṁ tasya jānīmeti uchyate.*

‡ *Achchhādakavāt tasmāt tamaso*

That the self-coercion ascribed to the illusorily-limited absolute self, is a contemplation of things, is revealed in another text: Who knows all, who knows everything; whose self-coercion is contemplation."

"Desire arose in the beginning thereof; the first germ of the mind from which it came into being: sages having searched with the intellect in the heart have found this the tie which binds entity to nonentity." In the state of universal dissolution antecedent to the evolution of the world, desire, the creative volition, arose in the mind of the Creator, the illusorily-limited absolute *ego*. The first germ of the mind, the good and evil actions of a past æon, still in their residues resided in the common sensories of transmigrating souls, re-absorbed as those common sensories had been into illusion, and these were the germ of the evolution now to take place. This was the motive from which the creative purpose arose in the mind of the Creator, it being he who assigns to transmigrating souls their several kinds of fruition, who is the universal witness, and who presides over the retributive fatality of works. As soon as the creative purpose had arisen, he contemplated that which had to be created, and proceeded to project the universe, the whole series, that is to say, of environments of transmigrating spirits. Sages, mystics who know all things past, present, and to come, having searched with the intellect fixed by abstraction upon the heart,* in which the transcendent self has its site, have discovered that the works of transmigrating souls in a former æon are the tie, the causal nexus that binds the world which we now know to exist, to the non-existent, to its unreal emanatory cause as yet undeveloped.

"The ray which was stretched out, was it across these, was it above, or was it below? There were generative beings, there were mighty things, the nutriment below, the energising love above." Illusion, volition, and retributive fatality, have been pointed out as the concurrent causes of the evolution of the series of transmigratory conditions called the universe. The rapidity of their causal action is next indicated. The totality of created things, ether and all the succeeding emanations, diffused themselves instantaneously, as the rays of the rising sun spread in a moment through all space. These followed one another, and filled all space like a flash of lightning. Hence the question whether their first position was above, below, or intermediate. Of these emanations some were generative beings, the individuated souls that create and experience that retributive fatality which is the germ of things; others were objects, the vast principles, ether and the

* The absolute *ego* is said in the Upanishads to reside in the interior cavity of the heart.

rest, which make up the environments of transmigrating souls. It was in this manner that the supreme spirit, associated with illusion, projected the world, and himself passing into it, created the difference of souls and their objects of fruition. Of these souls and these objects, the nutriment or pabulum of transmigrating spirits, the object world, was below, that is, inferior; the energising soul, the spirits transmigrating for the fruition of their works, above, that is, superior. The world of things was created as a supplementation to the world of souls.

"Who truly knows, who here shall declare whence it emanated, whence this diversified creation? The gods are later than this evolution. Therefore who knows whence it emanated?" The evolution is, the Rishi says, hard to trace, and for this reason is not described in greater detail. Who knows, who can state in detail, from what emanatory, and from what operative cause, this visible universe emanated, with all its diversity of elements and elemental things, of transmigrating souls and their environments of pleasure and pain? The deities themselves are subsequent to this emanation of things, and can neither know nor describe the evolution of a world anterior to their own creation. If the gods have not this knowledge, what human being knows the emanatory principle of all this universe?

"This various creation, whence it came into being, whether He upholds or upholds it not, who knows? He, who is its overseer in the highest heaven, He truly knows, none other knows." As the illusion-limited absolute self, the deity, is the illusive emanatory cause of the universe and all its rich diversity of forms, so is He alone its sustainer. Perhaps the Rishi is further setting out the difficulty of conceiving the creation. Who knows whence this various creation sprang? No man knows. Some have erroneously supposed that the universe has never been otherwise than it now is. Who knows that supreme spirit, from which, as its illusory emanative cause, the universe proceeded? No man knows it. Hence, in their error, the Sāṅkhyas ascribe its genesis to the plastic principle, *Prakṛiti*, and the Naiyāyikas to ultimate particles or atoms. That that supreme spirit, the illusory emanative cause, himself created it, as its operative cause, who knows, or whether he created it not? Who knows him? Not knowing him the Sāṅkhyas have taught that the world, or series of environments of transmigrating souls, emanated of itself from their unconscious ultimate principle, *pradhāna*. That that supreme spirit was its illusive emanatory cause, who knows? No man knows it. The Naiyāyikas have taught that a Demiurgus standing apart from and other than its emanatory cause has fabricated the universe. It will be asked: If the genesis of things is so incomprehensible, how shall it be known at all? The Rishi states that the Veda is the instrument

of knowledge in this matter. He that is the overseer of this universe, the Lord, or illusorily-limited absolute *ego*, in the highest heaven, * in self-luminousness, pure as ethereal space, or in his essence of beatitude unsurpassable, or in the expanse unlimited by time, space, and things, or in himself as determinate cognition, he knows it, or perhaps he knows it not. The Lord alone, the illusorily-limited impersonal self, omniscient, knows the creation of things, and none else knows it.

Such is Mādhavachārya's exposition of this obscure hymn. It is with little violence interpreted in the language of the fully systematised Vedānta. It appears to contain, if it does not very explicitly enounce, the cosmical conception unfolded in the Upanishads. To cite the Chhāndogya Upanishad (VI. 2): "Existent only, fair youth, was this in the beginning, one only, without a second. Some indeed have said: Non-existent only was this in the beginning: from that non-existent the existent proceeded. But how, I pray, fair youth, should it be so? How could the existent proceed from the non-existent? Existent only, then, was this in the beginning, one only without a second. That desired: Let me become many, let me pass into becoming. That evolved heat, that heat desired: Let me become many, let me pass into becoming. It evolved water, therefore wherever and whenever a man is heated or sweats, moisture proceeds from that heat. The waters desired: Let us become many, let us pass into becoming. So desiring they evolved aliment. Therefore wherever and whenever it rains, much aliment is produced." "This which is now the universe," says Sankarāchārya, "was before its creation to be known only under the name and notion of pure being; for prior to its evolution a thing cannot be cognised as having name and form. The condition of things was like that of one who sleeps without dreaming, for when he wakes up he is cognisant of a foregone state of undifferentenced existence, cognisant that he was pure being. This pre-existence of things as undifferentenced entity may be illustrated by a familiar example. A man in the morning sees a potter at work upon a lump of clay with the purpose of making it into pots and pans. He proceeds on his way to another villagie, and returns in the afternoon. On seeing in the same place a variety of pots and pans, he pronounces that they were earlier in the day all alike clay. This was one only: there was nothing else in existence as an effect emanative from it. This was one only, without a second: there were no other causes co-operative with pure being and ulterior to it, such as the potter in the familiar example, who is the operative cause

* φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον :

"Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light.

"A blaze of glory that forbids the sight."

moulding the clay into the form of the jar or other product. We are not like the logicians, the Naiyāyikas and Vaiseshikas, who imagine that over and above pure being there are other entities, and that these have no existence before their production and after their dissolution. We do not allow any predicate or anything predicable at any time or in any place, except pure being. Whatever predication is made is made of undifferentenced existence. Whatever is predicated of it is predicated under some illusory conception, as under illusory conceptions snake is predicated of rope, and lump or jar is predicated of clay; but the name and notion of the illusory educt cease for those that know its indifference from real being, just as in every-day life the name and notion of snake cease for any one that recognises the rope, and the name and notion of jar cease for any one that recognises the clay. Thus the texts from which words turn back with the mind, not reaching it, ineffable, unlocalised, &c."

We may now pass to Mādhava's explanation of the Purusha-sūkta, the hymn mentioned above, which ascribes the genesis of things to the sacrifice of Purusha by the gods, the Sadhyas, and the Rishis. Purusha, says Mādhava, is the conscious, that is, the self-luminous, illuminant principle, distinct from the undeveloped, from intellect, and the rest; and naught else exists but Purusha.

"A thousand heads has Purusha, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet; he compassing the earth on every side stood ten fingers' breadth beyond it." Purusha is Virāt, otherwise Vaisvānara, the spirit of humanity, the totality of all transmigrating souls, whose body is the whole round of mundane things. * He has innumerable heads, the heads of all living creatures forming part of his body, and being therefore his. Thus also it is that he has a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. This Purusha encircled the whole round of things, and stood two hand-breadths beyond it, filled, that is to say, all space outside the spherical cosmos. "Purusha only is all this, which has been, which is to be; the lord also of immortality, since he grows up with nutriment." All this present world, and every past and future world, is Purusha, and Purusha only. As in this æon, so in past and future æons, the bodies of all transmigrating spirits are portions of Purusha. He is the lord of immortality or of divine nature, inasmuch as this world is not his real nature. He grows up with food that is, he passes out of his condition as emanatory *principium* into his visible condition as the world, on the occasion of nutriment, the pabulum of pleasure and pain to be distributed to transmigrating souls. He assumes the form of the universe only that they may have fruition of their works. It is not his real nature.

* The reader may compare with this the picture prefixed to Hobbes' *Leviathan*.

"Such is his greatness, and greater than this is Purusha : a quarter of him is all existing things, three-quarters that which is immortal in the sky." All environments of transmigrating souls, past, present, and to come, are the greatness, the power, of Purusha, not his real essence. In his real nature Purusha immeasurably transcends all these. All sentiences in all time are but a quarter of him : the remaining three-quarters are that which is immortal, indissoluble, real, in the sky, in his self-luminous essence. Portions, quarters, cannot be literally ascribed to the impartite transcendent self, the "true knowledge, infinite, absolute." They are attributed to Purusha only to indicate the insignificance of all worlds in comparison with the real essence of the impersonal *ego*. "With three-quarters he rose upwards, a quarter of him was here ; thence he went out in all directions into the sentient and insentient." Purusha, in three portions identical with the essence of the absolute *ego*, and exempt from transmigratory conditions, rose upwards, remained outside the universe, outside the environments of transmigrating souls ; untouched by the qualities and imperfections of this world. A quarter, a particle of him, was here, was implicated in illusion, engaged again and again in the projection and retraction of the world. Thus entering into illusion he went forth, or filled all space, in his various forms, as gods, as men, as animals, and as all other things. He passed into plurality, and there arose the two orders of sentiences engaged in the apparent matters of daily life, and insentient things, as mountains, rivers, and other objects.

"From him emanated Virāt,—Purusha is above Virāt : having become Virāt he multiplied himself, creating the earth and then bodies." From the primeval spirit Purusha emanated Virāt, the universal soul of which the whole round world is the body, so-called because it is in him that shine all the various things that are. Purusha was above Virāt ; he illusorily identified himself with the body of Virāt, and became a living soul. The selfsame supreme spirit proclaimed in the Vedāntas or Upanishads, of himself and with his own illusion, projected the round of things, the body of Virāt entered into it as personal self, became the divine soul that illusorily identifies itself with the whole round of things. Having become Virāt Purusha multiplied himself, passed into the form of gods, men, animals, and the rest. After becoming the personal selves of gods and other transmigrating souls, he created the earth, and after the earth, the bodies to be tenanted by those personal selves.

"When the gods performed sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the sacrificial cake." After bodies had been created, the gods in order to accomplish the further evolution of things, external objects not

having yet come into being, proceeded to offer mental sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation. The sacrifice could not be made without an oblation, and they represented the essence of Purusha in their thoughts as the oblation. They imaged the spring as the sacrificial butter, summer as the fuel, autumn as the cake. They first mentally offered up Purusha as the total oblation, then spring, summer, and autumn, as the constituents of the oblation.

"This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they sacrificed; with him the gods, the Sādhyas, and the Rishis made their sacrifice." This Purusha notionally presented as the victim bound to the sacrificial stake, they immolated in mental sacrifice. Their victim was Purusha who had come into being before all creation. The sacrificers were the gods, the Sādhyas, Prājapati and others so-called as able to create, *śrīṣhti-sādhānayogya*, and the Rishis, they that saw the hymns.

"From that universal sacrifice were produced curds and clarified butter. He formed the aerial creatures, and the animals wild and domesticated." The universal sacrifice was that in which was sacrificed Purusha identical with the totality of things. From that mental offering were produced curds and clarified butter, and all other edible things. Aerial creatures are those of the transmigratory environments presided over by the wind-gods. That living creatures are through the middle air presided over by the wind-gods is revealed in the Yajur-brāhmaṇa. Wild animals are antelopes and the like; domesticated animals are cattle and the like. "From that universal sacrifice proceeded the hymns called Rik and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush. From it proceeded horses, and all animals that have two rows of teeth, and cows, and goats, and sheep. When they cut up Purusha into how many parts did they dis sever him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? The Brāhman was his mouth, the Rājanya was made his arms, the Vaisya was his thighs, the Sūdra sprang from his feet. The moon was produced from his soul, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet the earth; from his ears the regions: so they fashioned the worlds. Seven were the wooden frames around, thrice seven the pieces of fuel, when the gods laying out the sacrifice, bound Purusha as the victim. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the victim. Those were the first rites. Those great beings attain the heaven where the ancient Sādhyas, the gods abide." Thus the gods, the vital breath of Prājapati, worshipped the victim Prājapati with mental sacrifice. From that worship proceeded those first, those highest, rites, which uphold the changing manifestations, which constitute the states of transmigratory expe-

rience. Those great beings, the votaries of Virāt, attain that heaven in which the ancient worshippers of Virāt reside.

It seems evident enough that the traditional explication of these earliest specimens of Indian speculation represents nothing else than the results into which they ripened, and is to that extent the legitimate expression of the conceptions which they embody. The absolute *egoism* of the Upanishads, and of the systematised Vedānta, is really the natural outgrowth of these uncouth and barbarous utterances. These utterances are again the natural outgrowth of the primitive worship of the elemental deities. The Vedānta has a prescriptive right to the first place among the Indian systems. * "The question in debate regarded nothing less than the origin and subsequent revolutions of things :—and the effort, doubtless of these sages, was to supply to the speculative mind something answering to the vague affirmations of the popular creed. Hence they perpetually kept these superstitions in view, and made it a constant aim to harmonise their physics with the public theology,—to make their cosmogonies an explanation of the theogonies of the poetical faith."

Self, absolute self, in association with some unintelligible principle neither existent, nor non-existent, was to the earliest Indian theorists, the sum of all, that from which the totality of things had issued, that into which it might be ideally refunded. Self is the one and only real. Self is being, not-self is non-being but non-being has a kind of fictitious existence, an existence sufficient to account for all that goes on in daily life, sufficient for the common sense of the unreflective many, insufficient to the inquiry of the reflective few. How closely this construction of the totality of things approximates to that of the Eleatics is by this time plain enough. † "The antithesis of the one and the many, the intelligible and the sensible, the permanent and the changeable, has passed in the Eleatic school into that of being and not-being. The next movement of thought in dealing with this relation is the question, does not-being exist? Is there any not-being at all? It is difficult to state in precise terms how the Eleatics answered this question. In the first part of his poem, Parmenides seems to maintain that there is no not-being; in the second part of it he accords to not-being a sort of spurious existence. In fact, answer the question in either way, and the difficulties that arise are insuperable. Suppose we say that there is no not-being, then the whole material world, all sensible existence, is annihilated, for this is not-being. The world of sense stands logically opposed to being in the funda-

* Archer Butler : Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy, p. 191. † Ferrier : Lectures and Remains, vol. i., p.p. 96 & 99.

mental antithesis of thought, as the particular to the universal, the sensible to the intelligible, the many to the one. The many is identical with not-being; there is no not-being, therefore there is no many, but only one. The changeable is identical with not-being; there is no not-being, therefore there is no changeable, but only an unvarying permanent. "The spurious existence which might be attributed to not-being, and therefore to natural things, is a mere subterfuge, which, when examined, resolves itself into a contradiction." The Vedāntins were contented to accept the contradiction. The illusion from which, as illusorily overlying the absolute *ego*, the many and the changeable proceeded, was unreal, was contradictory, had illusorily created itself. It was unintelligible, inexplicable. There was one real, one intelligible, and that was the one transcendent and impersonal self.

* "That which abides within the earth, which earth knows not, of which earth is the body, which actuates the earth from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within water, which water knows not, of which water is the body, which actuates water from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within fire, which fire knows not, of which fire is the body, which actuates fire from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the atmosphere, which the atmosphere knows not, of which the atmosphere is the body, which actuates the atmosphere from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the wind, which the wind knows not, of which the wind is the body, which actuates the wind from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the sky, which the sky knows not, of which the sky is the body, which actuates the sky from within, that is thyself, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the sun, which the sun knows not, of which the sun is the body, which actuates the sun from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the regions, which the regions know not, of which the regions are the body, which actuates the regions from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the moon and stars, which the moon and stars know not, of which the moon and stars are the body, which actuates the moon and stars from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within all creatures, which all creatures know not, of which all creatures are the body, which actuates all creatures from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which abides within the consciousness, which the consciousness knows not, of which the consciousness is the body, which actuates the consciousness from within, that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal.

That which sees unseen, hears unheard, thinks unthought-upon, knows unknown; that than which there is no other that sees, no other that hears,

no other that thinks, no other that knows; that is thy self, the internal ruler, immortal."

It seems probable, as has been seen, that the earliest Indian thinkers derived the existing order of things from self one and impersonal in association with some inexplicable principle neither existent nor non-existent. This principle was co-eternal with the absolute *ego*, and from their apparent union proceeded the universal soul, all individual souls, and their environments of pleasure, pain, and indifference, with all plurality and change. This unintelligible entity came to be variously designated the undeveloped, the undifferentiated, the primary, the emanatory *principium*, illusion, *ādyakta*, *avyākṛita*, *pradhāna*, *prakṛiti*, *avidyā*, *māyā*. The absolute *ego* was the one real existence.

The existence of both the inner and outer worlds of every-day experience was apparent, fictitious, unreal. They existed only so far as to render possible the action and passion of daily life as matters of general agreement or common sense. To the thinker who, stepping beyond convention, looked beyond the appearances into the reality of things, all personal selves with their environments of objects, and their experiences active and passive, were alike unreal. Upon this conception of the totality of things supervened in later times the belief in metempsychosis, seemingly taken up from ruder tribes, and the prospect of endless misery awaiting the soul in its never-ceasing series of embodiments. Philosophy, the quest of the real, introverting the soul upon itself, and detaching it from its illusory adjuncts, alone had power to extricate it from its sufferings in the world of sense. The gods and their worship belonged to the unreal, but the knowledge of the real, the immersion in the absolute, was accessible to those only whose intellects had been purified by Vedic and traditionary observances. This was the conciliation of *Brahmavidyā* with *Karmavidyā*, of the new philosophy with the old religion.

Buddhism, as it is well known, originated among the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, the military and agricultural classes. The Buddhists held fast by the belief in metempsychosis and the endless misery of the successive embodiments, and by the unreality of the world, both of the inner and the outer order of things. But they refused the existence of anything real beneath or beyond the phenomena. They allowed no soul beyond the intellect, which they described as a series of sensations and of the ideal residues of sensations illusively taking the form of subject and object, and prolonged till the rise of pure knowledge. Its environment of objects had a merely fluxional existence, like the shifting colours of a sunset cloud, enabling apparent souls to overtake apparent ends. Their existence was a power of giving rise to the activities

of every-day life, *arthakriyā-kāritva*. All beyond was a void or blank. The totality of things was * “at the most a phantasmagory of merely empirical co-existences or successions floating over a pit of nonentity.” The absolute *ego*, the *brahman*, of the Brāhmanic philosophers, the knowledge of which they reserved to themselves as their highest prerogative, was nonsensical, a thing not to be construed to the understanding. The Buddhists admitted only two instruments of knowledge, perception and inference, rejecting that of verbal communication which the Brāhman had set up to give certitude to the Vedic revelation. The Brāhman had rested the knowledge of the transcendent self, of the spiritual absolute, upon the authority of revelation. It belonged, as we should say, to faith or to reason, not to the understanding. If it was the *totum metaphysicum*, it was equally the *non-ens logicum*; to the understanding pure being is pure nothing. The Buddhists recognising no higher faculty than the logical, swept it away as an absurdity. Knowledge of the truth disengaged the phenomenal transmigrating self, the *ālaya-vijnāna*, from its apparent action and passion, and it passed beyond its miseries into the void or blank. Retraction into undifferentenced existence, immersion in the absolute *ego*, had been the highest end and the promise of the Brāhmanic absolutists; a passage into the void, annihilation, was the highest end, and the promise of Buddhist nihilists. † “The notions of an abstract self modified in no particular manner; of an abstract world isolated from the special phenomena of sense; and of an abstract deity, apart from those finite attributes by which he is manifested in relation to the finite consciousness of mankind, can be given in no phase of consciousness; for if they were, the relation and succession which constitute consciousness would be annihilated.” To those early thinkers the transition from absolutism to nihilism was natural enough. It is late in the progress of philosophy that a thorough-going scrutiny of the structure of the mind brings to light the necessity of these negative conceptions, practical not speculative, to limit, to unify and consummate the round of human cognitions. Negative thought is till then easily mistaken for the absence of all thought.

The view of Indian philosophy thus presented to the reader, cannot be more profitably completed than by calling to his recollection its points of similarity to the earliest constructions of the richer genius of Greek speculation. For this purpose the lectures of Archer Butler will supply the needful intimations. “† We found in the school of Elea—whose metaphysics were inherited by the Megaric succession—the principle openly stated that the sensible

* Masson: Recent British Philosophy, p. 32.

† Mausel: Metaphysics, p. 292.

‡ Lectures on the History of Ancient British Philosophy pp. 259 seq.

world is purely phenomenal, accidental, apparent; in contradistinction from that substantial world of reason which alone deserves the title of real existence. Considered then, by the intelligence, the world of existence becomes of course subordinated to the laws and forms of intelligence; it is a world of which we have the interpretation in our own reason, there alone, and there perfectly. Now of these laws of intelligence, as it is their undoubted character, that they regard the necessary, the unconditional, the absolute—so is it certain that this absolute thing, thus contemplated by intellectual intuition, being the common foundation and essential reality of all things, and of all things equally, cannot but be one and ever identical with itself. To the eye of reason, then, there is no plurality, no change; one being not merely supports, but is, the universe; and all that reveals itself in the lower world of sense is but the external manifestation of this absolute unity. Of anything which that mutable world includes it cannot be said that it is—it becomes; for its property is incessant change; and of that which incessantly changes, as on the one hand, there can be no assured science, so on the other, there cannot even be any true and proper *reality* predicated. Vain it is to affirm, with the short-sighted naturalists of the Ionic school, that it is sufficient for us to trust the regulated sequences of nature; if these sequences be casual not even the shadow of science can regard them, if they be arbitrary, but be believed to be invariable, this again is not science but faith; if they be necessary and unalterable, then are they, what we affirm them, the mere manifestations in the world of sense of the necessary attributes of a necessary and eternal thing;—they are then, as it were, the absolute contemplated by the eyes of sense; and all the scientific reality of such laws is only the reality of the absolute being that exhibits itself in them. The universe then, is *one*, to the total exclusion of superior, inferior, or equal:—ἐν τὰ πάντα.

“The sovereign good of Stilpo was expressed in one word, ἀπαθεια, a term which Seneca translates *animus impatiens*, not without apologies for the employment of a term which in his days, as well as in our own, seems to have obtained a signification the exact reverse of this philosophic use of it. He distinguishes between this rigorous tenet and the more reasonable doctrine of the Stoics: *noster sapiens vincit quidem incommodum omne, sed sentit; illorum ne sentit quidem*.

“The principle professes to merge all individuality in absolute sameness. We may expect at first sight to find this doctrine not less active in the world of life than in that of inanimate nature or abstract conception. If then the reasoner who habitually dwells upon the oneness of the universe, come to apply his views to the properties of separate minds; and if his philosophic loyalty

can stand the test of carrying out his principle in the very citadel of individuality, the personal consciousness; he must, to establish his point (which, if not absolute, is nothing), undertake to break down the barriers which nature seems to have erected between man and man. Now, if we adhere to the world of consciousness, this enterprise is impossible. No effort of ingenuity can invalidate the conviction with which each individual pronounces himself to be himself alone, and not another. But, by this time, you can readily conjecture that the Megaric was not to be embarrassed by a difficulty of this nature. He could demur to the evidence itself of consciousness; not indeed by denying that the witness makes the affirmation, but by refusing to allow the witness's competency. He could declare that the internal sense was as worthless as the external in the search of eternal truth; and that if the laws and principles of morals are to be based upon a scientific foundation, they must be fixed, not on the yielding sands of consciousness (itself, as Heraclitus had so often shown, never for two instants the same), but upon the impregnable rock of reason. The philosopher will therefore morally as metaphysically, labour to forget himself in the universe. He will obliterate the illusive conviction of individuality by making himself, as far as possible, a petty element in a general plan; and regard life, as well as nature, as the necessary servant of unalterable fate. But if thus it be wisdom to show no will, but the will of the universe, it must be wisdom to efface every principle which can urge the will, and this without exception; for while by perfect neutrality the man leaves himself to the disposal of the governing whole, by the exertion of any affection or desire, no matter how popularly virtuous, he advances himself beyond the level of his place in the machine and presumes to establish a separate interest in the world. It thus appears (if I am not mistaken in this attempt to penetrate his views), that Stilpo might, by a resolute adherence to his metaphysical principle, have arrived at that ἀπῆθεια which has so much perplexed the historians of ancient philosophy: nor can we be surprised to find that when from the cloudy heights of speculation the philosopher descended into common life, and transferred the theories of the pure reason into the sphere of sense, he would be likely to display what Pliny calls "*rigorem quendam, torvitatemque naturæ duram et inflexibilem.*"

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. V.—OUR LAND REVENUE POLICY IN NORTHERN INDIA.

Our Land Revenue Policy in Northern India. By Charles James Connell, B.C.S.

THE author of this book is a young Civilian of six or seven years standing in Oudh. If he has done nothing else, by writing this account of our Land Revenue Policy, he has at least shown that it is possible by a few years of earnest work to acquire an intimate knowledge of district life and government, which many men do not attain to in a much longer time. But the book itself has many merits, and it ought to be read. It shows how the working of our revenue system in Oudh has struck a man of an earnest and fresh mind. And although there is much in it that is crude, and little which those familiar with the discussions on our land revenue have not seen before, yet Mr. Connell's force and eagerness give the subject a new life, and atone for the few defects.

The poverty and indebtedness of the landowners in Northern India, and the rapidity with which property in the soil is passing from the old landowning classes into the hands of others, is an old theme, and one that has been often written on in this *Review*. But we make no apology, either for ourselves or for Mr. Connell, for again drawing attention to the subject. No one who has anything to do with India, either as a public servant, or as a settler in the country, can afford to look with indifference on the ruin of the old families and tribes. That such ruin is progressing at a rapid pace in many parts of Oudh, the Central Provinces, and the North-West, it would be impossible to deny. If it is the result principally of our assessment and revenue system, as the author of this book and others hold, no rest ought to be given to the matter until the proper remedy is found and applied. Even if the cause is not what it is here stated to be, and if the remedies proposed are not those best suited to the case, good service is done by any one who can keep the attention of men directed to the existence of this great evil.

There are, of course, some who will deny that it is an evil. Those especially who come to India to occupy high positions in middle life look upon the transfer of the soil to *bunias* and money-lenders as an advantage to the country. They believe that such men will use their capital to improve the land, and will make better landlords than the embarrassed men they supersede. They are convinced that a generation or two will turn the

new men into fine conservative country gentlemen, differing only in their wealth and thrift from those they have supplanted. If it were so, there would be no occasion for dissatisfaction with the present state of things, and the story told by the registration returns in many districts might be regarded with complacency. But Mr. Connell, and men who have had the same experience, can hardly be expected to believe in this view of the case. It would be easier to believe in the transmigration of souls than to hold that a few years of existence as a landowner, will alter the character and view of life which a *bunia* family has inherited from hundreds of generations.

Besides, the majority of these men buy land not with the view of adopting a new career, or changing their modé of life, but simply with the object of getting a new field for their ancient occupation. Unfortunately—for reasons to be spoken of further on when criticising some of Mr. Connell's remarks—the majority of cultivators are obliged to borrow either to get seed or to pay their rent, or for both purposes. To buy a village is to the *bunia* much the same thing as to buy a new business. A Settlement Officer, in one of the later reports, speaking of two of these new zemindars writes: "They are always ready to make advances at from 24 to 30 per cent., sometimes 36: they seldom or never resort to the courts and are always ready to renew the loan at compound interest. Both the parties speak of this system with equal freedom; the tenant admits with indifference that his utmost efforts can never free him altogether, and that it merely depends on a bad or good harvest whether he is a little more or a little less in debt than before. How his account stands he does not pretend to know, for he cannot read. The profit accruing to zemindars who combine usury with farming, is thus enormous; and if the usurer is a distinct person the result is the same for the cultivator. The mass of the profits of his cultivation go in interest, especially as accounts are settled in kind at harvest. The money-lending zemindar thus gets grain cheap and keeps it till the market rises; and the tenants, as they say of themselves, are 'as ants beneath the foot of an elephant.' (Mr. Neale's report on Bharthna Pargana, Etawa district, para 18).

To hand large areas of country, with thousands of cultivators, over to men of this stamp is, in the opinion of the present writer, an evil. Those who are able to hold the opposite view have certainly the advantage of cherishing a much pleasanter faith.

I.

Mr. Connell's book consists of a description of the native system of revenue administration, which he contrasts with our own; of a dissertation on the present method of assessing and collecting

the revenue ; and of some proposals for the better conduct of both of these duties. But it is not so much for these discussions that the book is valuable. Its chief value consists in the picture it gives, evidently drawn by an observant, conscientious and able man, of the present state of the Province of Oudh. It is a picture which ought to attract the attention of those who are responsible for the Oudh administration. If it is true, as we believe it is, some reason ought to be given for the absence of any vigorous attempt to remedy the mis-government which is evidently destroying a fertile Province, and impoverishing a people.

The following description of the native revenue system, as it existed in Oudh, is given by Mr. Connell :—

"There can be little doubt, however, that the native revenue system, so far as it was carried out without excessive violence and oppression, that is, the system itself, was eminently adapted to the conditions of life in this country and to the character of the people. The revenue demand was roughly fixed each year shortly before the autumn harvest, and written engagements were then taken for the payment of the assessment ; but a revision of the tax was made when the prospects of the spring harvest were ascertained, and, according to the prospects of the crops as detailed by the *kanungos*, the demand was raised, lowered, or maintained at the original level.

"If the landowner refused to accept the engagement, the village was either farmed or held direct, the proprietors retained all their *seer* (i.e., all the land tilled by themselves with their own ploughs and farm servants) at favorable rates, and sometimes received also *nankar* or a cash allowance, usually in the shape of a deduction from the rent due for their *seer* fields. When the landowners accepted the engagements, they had to give sureties for punctual payment, and these sureties were generally the local *choudhris*, the *kanungos*, influential bankers, or the larger landowners of the neighbourhood ; if the landowners failed to pay, their sureties paid up, seized the defaulters, and imprisoned them till they raised the sum ; if the surety could not succeed in arresting the defaulters, he took possession of the estate and collected the rents. If there were no sureties, or, if it was thought desirable to punish the refractory landowners, the Government revenue farmer sent off the nearest commandant of troops with full powers to collect the rents and to apply them to the payment of his men ; the latter marched off to the village with his soldiers, drove off the landowners to the jungles, collected what he could from the cultivators ; if he was resisted, he burnt the houses and carried off all the bullocks and other moveable property as spoil ; next year the village would probably be well-nigh deserted ; the owners would be hiding in the jungles ; the cultivators, being without seed or cattle, would be unable to plough any of the fields ; the revenue farmer's receipts would decrease, and the owners would be invited back with a promise of a reduced land tax ; the fields, having lain fallow in the interval, would yield an abundant crop, and in a short time the village would be as prosperous as ever.

"The landowner would have received a warning to be more punctual in his payments, and the revenue farmer would have learnt the impolicy of a resort to excessive violence.

"There were neither accumulating arrears of land revenue, nor ruinous back debts, to weigh down the proprietors ; there were no unsatisfied decrees of court to drive debtors to hopeless despair ; they came back from their

court of bankruptcy, the jungle forest, free from encumbrances ; the land tax was fixed with some regard to the prospects of the coming harvest, arrears were remitted when the impossibility of payment within the year was clearly demonstrated, but when the defaulting landowners were found with money, they were compelled to pay up the revenue demand in full ; the proximity of the jungle, and the certainty of a serious diminution of income, checked the Government officials or the local farmers from using, as a rule, too much violence ; villages or shares of village were indeed from time to time compulsorily sold or mortgaged, but in those days the wheel of fortune revolved quickly and suddenly ; an estate acquired to-day by a forced sale, by voluntary transfer, or by downright violence, might be lost to-morrow ; the new owner might be disgraced or killed, and the old owner would recover his ancestral estates.

"There was no decree of court to stifle out for ever all hope of restoration ; there were no deeds of sale upheld by a strong and permanent Government ; there could be no black despair in those days of changeful misrule ; much oppression, much crime, and much misgovernment there were undeniably, but it may be doubted whether the landowners would not prefer the chance of murder or pillage to the dead-level of hopeless ruin, to which our system is fast reducing them.

"It is a mistake to suppose that any exact regard was paid to the amount of rent actually collected by the landowners ; the system of assessment was one of rough bargain ; no rent-rolls of any kind were presented to the Government officials, or written out in the offices of the pargana *kanungos* ; these latter officials merely maintained registers to show the annual demand from each estate for all past years ; the village accountant was a private servant of the landowners, and his accounts were made out solely for the latter's inspection and information ; the revenue farmer at the time of the fixation of the yearly demand in September, was guided in his assessment by the detailed statements of past taxation, and by the reports of the officials in respect to the means of the landowners and the condition of their estates. Theoretically, the landowner was required to pay up in full the rents of the cultivators, with a deduction of a certain sum as a cash allowance ; but in assuming the rental, the lands in his own cultivation were rated at a low rent ; as a matter of fact, there were no means of ascertaining what the gross collections of the landowner might amount to ; the past year's demand, which in theory represented that year's full rental minus the above deductions, was the only guide at hand for the determination of the revenue demand."

Under this kind of Government it is obvious that the strong man may hold his own, but all the weaker must go to the wall. And this is what in practice did take place : "While a very oppressive land tax was assessed on the estates of the smaller and less powerful landowners, those who were of any consideration frequently escaped with a very light demand." Many of the old village proprietors were robbed and turned out of their possessions by unscrupulous and powerful chieftains. Many were obliged to put themselves under the protection of more powerful neighbours, or to make over their villages to men who had influence at court. No doubt a large part of Oudh did enjoy tolerable prosperity if not peace even in the times of the worst misrule. But a very large minority of the smaller zemindars must have led lives of the greatest trouble and misery, and it

is to be feared, the peasantry also suffered more than Mr. Connell's account would lead his readers to suppose, although he does not attempt to conceal the atrocious misrule which preceded the annexation.

On what grounds then, is it argued, that the native administration was better or was preferred by the people to ours? Writing in the *Calcutta Review* in 1873 (number cxii, 1873, April, *A Land Policy for Northern India*.) the present writer, speaking of the objections raised by the zemindars to our system said: "They admitted the moderation of our assessment, but compared the vigorous machine-like severity with which we collect it with the lax and capricious methods of native administration. Their argument in fact was this, that a heavy assessment without danger of losing their land by auction sale, is better than a light assessment in which this danger is ever present like a skeleton at a feast." The same reason is assigned by Mr. Connell for the preference of the native system to our own. Whatever may be the cause, and whether the causes named by Mr. Connell are the true ones or not, the fact remains that our administration leads to the ruin of the old families, the dispossession of the old owners of the soil, and the substitution of a new class. This has been going on in the North-West Provinces for the last seventy years at least. It was brought prominently to the notice of Government as a great evil in 1820. At a later date, Colonel Sleeman recorded the opinion of the Oudh landowners "that four times more of the old aristocratic families have gone to decay in the half of the territory made over to the English in 1801, than in the half reserved by the Oudh sovereign."

And we learn from Mr. Connell, that these assertions are borne out by the histories compiled by the Settlement Officers. In the Lucknow district, for example, prior to the assessment of the land revenue, "the only *parvenu* landowners holding estates, were the descendants of a former royal minister who had acquired six villages, and a banker who had secured a considerable property in Lucknow and Unao on alleged sales and mortgages." Contrast this with our district of Cawnpore, in which 65 per cent. Of the land had been acquired by strangers: with the Etawa district or with Farrackabad, in which with a total area of 1,103,267 acres, the following transfers are recorded during the last settlement—

By mortgage	...	...	acres	93,064
By sale	...	...	"	138,150
By auction	...	...	"	91,355

And now we have a competent witness coming forward to tell us that the same results are following our administration in Oudh.

In the Hurdai district, which has only been recently assessed to the land revenue, transfers have been proceeding at a most alarming rate. In the Lucknow, Unao and other districts the landowners are described as being deeply involved in debt and difficulties, paying their revenue by selling and mortgaging their lands. The Deputy Commissioner of Unao reported in 1872 "the mass of the people deeply involved:" and the circumstances of the Lucknow landholders are similarly described by Colonel Reid (*vide* Note on pp. 23 and 26). In fact to quote our author's words, "It is scarcely now a question which admits of dispute that our system of revenue assessment and collection does, in some strange manner, succeed in ousting from their hereditary estates most of these small independent landowners in whose interests our settlements are supposed to be framed; on this point the testimony of all officers and of all published reports unhesitatingly agrees: it is also the unanimous opinion of English officials that this is a grave evil, and that every effort should be made to check the rapid decay of the old landowners of Upper India." Holding these views, it is hardly consistent of Mr. Connell to quarrel with the expression used in this *Review* in 1873. "The class of ex-proprietors is our own work, the offspring of our own laws." An appeal may be made to the present book for confirmation of the statement that the forced sale of land for debt, and for arrears of revenue was an innovation, which has gone far in the eyes of the people to nullify all that they have gained from our rule. Sales for arrears no doubt did occur. (See p. 102 and 103 of extracts from Harington's Analysis: Calcutta, 1866). But the practice said to prevail in Behar and Bengal appears to have concerned the rights of the revenue contractors or zemindars, and I am not aware that any instances can be quoted of whole village communities sold up for arrears under the native governments. That transfers by sale or mortgage were made among themselves, and that a defaulting co-sharer often mortgaged his rights to another who paid the revenue for him, is of course known to every Revenue Officer. The difference between Mr. Connell and myself is, however, really one rather of words than of fact, as the extracts from his book given above will show.

II.

Here, then, we have the evidence of a competent witness to prove that the same phenomenon is following our administration of Oudh after little more than 20 years, which has resulted from our Government of the older provinces. Everywhere the landowners are in difficulties, and the land is fast passing into the hands of strangers. What are the causes in Mr. Cornell's judg-

ment which produce this result? They are two. The assessment of the revenue and its collection.

The land revenue * may press the owners of land in two ways. It may be too high; or it may be fair in amount, but unequally distributed over the co-sharers. Mr. Connell brings the following charges against the present method of assessment:—

(1). That it is fixed at a rate which is far above the actual half of the rental: that the assessment is not based on the actual rental collected by the zemindars; but on a fancy estimate framed by the Settlement Officer.

(2). That Settlement Officers divide the soils into minute sub-divisions unknown to the people, which do not influence rents.

(3). That no allowance is made for high-caste tenants.

(4). That allowance is not made for lands the rent of which is paid in kind.

(5). That the revenue is raised in anticipation of future increase of income.

(6). That no allowance is made—

(a) For fallow.

(b) For bad seasons, damage by wild beasts, floods, and the like.

(7). That the increased revenue is suddenly demanded before the zemindars have time to adjust the rents to meet it.

(8). That it is unequally distributed among the co-sharers.

These are the charges brought by Mr. Connell against the assessing officers. As they embrace almost every fault which a settlement officer can commit, it is a matter of congratulation to me, speaking as a North-West revenue officer, that his experience is derived entirely from Oudh.

And here, before entering into these charges brought against the method of assessment, I will point out once for all the weakest point in Mr. Connell's book. He is a man of short service and acquainted only with part of Oudh. His knowledge of the North-West is confined evidently to the perusal of a few reports and compilations, such as Mr. A. Colvin's Memorandum on the Settlements, which by the way, is rather a sensational political pamphlet than a sober critique. He has not even read the settlement reports, or made an attempt to ascertain the facts regarding districts such as Etawa and Farrackabad and Meerut, the settlements of which he holds up as examples of ruinous rack-renting. Consequently he destroys in a great mea-

* I protest emphatically against Mr. Connell's use of the word *tax* as meaning the land-revenue. It is entirely wrong in itself, and is calculated to encourage a very false view of this source of revenue to which it is not necessary to give countenance.

sure the weight of his arguments, and detracts from the value of what is otherwise an able essay. What grounds, for example, has he for asserting that the assessment of Etawa and Farrackabad is too severe, and that Sir William Muir would have directed it to be revised, only he disliked to disturb the country again with settlement operations?

Of these districts Mr. Connell writes: "The proprietors have to pay annually to the State a sum which, including the wages of the village accountant, the village police, and the new and old cesses, must at present amount to between 90 and 95 per cent. of their gross rentals, while the remainder of the rents must be swallowed up in legal expenses and in the cost of management." If this was the case the regret and astonishment expressed by Mr. Connell would be very well founded. It might, however, have occurred to him that Sir William Muir and the Board of Revenue, which at that time consisted of Messrs. Reid and Inglis, would hardly have allowed two fine districts to be deliberately destroyed in this way. Some suspicion of the grounds on which he based this calculation might well have been entertained by him. But we look in vain for any proof or attempted proof of these statements. It is not too much to say that they have no foundation, except in the sympathetic mind of the author himself. The assessment of Etawa, a district the conditions of which had been utterly changed by canals and railways since the old settlement, was raised eleven per cent. Two years after the new revenue was declared, the rentals, as returned by the zemindars themselves, were to the revenue as 100 to 58. Making due allowance for the lands entered at nominal rents and for under-statement, it is hardly possible that the real rental was far short of double the revenue.

In Farrackabad the revenue was raised 10 per cent. The revenue rate per cultivated acre at the old settlement was 2-2-8. At the present, 1-14-7. In no pargana of the district is the revenue more than 55 per cent. of the present rentals, and in six parganas it has already sunk below half of the recorded and acknowledged assets.

Further information can be gathered from the reports of the Court of Wards. All the districts of the Meerut division have been re-settled. The percentage of revenue to rental in the villages under the Court was 45.5 in the revenue year 1873-4. In the three newly-settled districts of Rohilkund the revenue fell on the rental as follows:—

Bijnor ...	...	...	...	51.5
Budaon...	...	...	...	36.7
Shahjehanpur	...	...	...	50.7

In Etawa, which is Mr. Connell's special bugbear, the Court of

Wards hold six estates paying Rs. 65,806 as revenue, most of which belong to embarrassed proprietors who have placed themselves under the Court. The Collector returns the rental of these villages at Rs. 1,18,578. The revenue in the first years of the settlement is only 55·50 of the assets of these estates, hitherto mismanaged by their owners.

When it is added that Pargana Baghput of the Meerut district is quoted as an example of over assessment, sufficient has been said to show that the author's information regarding the North-West settlements is not such as to justify him in pronouncing judgment upon them. We may now turn to his charges against the settlements in Oudh with regard to which, it may be presumed, he has had more opportunity of learning the facts. But his rashness in criticising matters of which he neither knows nor has attempted to learn the truth, weakens the confidence of the reader in the rest of his statements.

First as to the neglect of the actual rental in assessing. If by this is meant that no attention is paid to the rental of each village, and that the assessing officer does not consider it at all in fixing the demand, there is much soundness in Mr. Connell's views. But I am not aware that any settlement officer does neglect to consider the rentals. It is certainly not so in the North-West whatever it may be in Oudh. The rental as it is recorded, as it is corrected for the nominally rental *str*, or home-farms, and for other well known under-statements, and as it should be by the settlement officers' valuation, are carefully compared. The assumed rent-rates are not rigidly adhered to, or slavishly followed. They are used as a standard and guide. Without some such measure of value it is hard to see how anything approaching to a just and equal assessment could be made. If it is the author's intention to contend that each village should be assessed on its own rental without regard to the rents paid elsewhere for similar land, he is altogether wrong, and has no conception of the first virtue of a settlement—equality of assessment. Is it intended that the landlord who has continually raised his rents, brought all his land into cultivation, and improved his estate, should be assessed on his rental, and that the same course should be pursued with regard to the man who has confined his exertions to collecting the rents that were fixed forty years ago, before prices rose, railways opened up the countries, and canals irrigated the fields? Yet these are cases which are continually found side by side. The recorded rents may be perfectly true in both cases. Yet how unjust would it be to accept them as the basis of an assessment and to take half the rental in each case. So it is frequently the case that one landlord records his true receipts, while another does not. No one will contend that

we are to accept a false rental as our basis. Again, take the not uncommon case of a notorious rack-renter. Are we to accept his rates and ruin his tenantry for him? Doubtless Mr. Connell does not intend us to follow the rentals in these cases; but only when the rental is true, adequate and fair. Well, that is just what is done in the North-West. But much pains are taken to arrive at rent-rates without which no one could tell with any certainty what was true, or what was false.—What rents were adequate and fair and what were abnormally high or low.

How far Mr. Connell's objection is justified with regard to Oudh, is not known. If the assumed rates and the estimates of rental have been made on ill-considered and insufficient data, and have then been rigidly followed without regard to the actual rents (and this seems to be his meaning) nothing can be worse. There appears to be little doubt from Mr. Connell's book, and from much that has appeared in the Oudh Administration Reports and in other places, that the assessments have been badly made, and are crushingly severe in many districts. But it is not clear that this is the result of the system of assessment. Because estimates have been wrong, and rent-rates have been assumed without proper data, it does not follow that no estimates ought to be made and no rent-rates used. If the Oudh settlement officers have rashly assumed rates, and ruined their districts by rigid adherence to them, they themselves stand condemned rather than the system which they abused.

So far as Mr. Connell's advice is, that we should follow the rentals of individual villages and should not be guided by rent-rates deduced from large areas, and by comparison with all similar villages in the neighbourhood, it is quite wrong. No more utterly unfair and preposterous assessment could be made than one which should be based on the recorded rentals, accepting the condition of each village as normal and final, and trusting to the honesty of the zemindars and the fidelity of the village accountants.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona, and Mr. Connell may rest assured that he is not the first wise man to whom so very simple a way of getting through a very difficult business has occurred. At the present time the Government of the North-West is engaged in the construction of a machinery for ensuring the accuracy of the Patwari's papers. If they succeed, it will be possible to look much more confidently to the recorded rentals at the next settlement than we have been able to do hitherto. But even then, it will no more do to follow them blindly and slavishly than to do the like with assumed rates. The matter may be confidently left to the discretion of the settlement officers of the future, of whom our author may, it is hoped, be one.

The objection taken by Mr. Connell to the sub-division or classification of soils, is one that he has not sufficiently explained, and is somewhat difficult to understand. Granted that it is wrong to classify soils, how does it lead to over-assessment? Every one knows that soils vary in value. Is Mr. Connell prepared to pay the same rent, or to make the peasants pay the same for a piece of rich loam and for a plot of hillocky sand. So far from the peculiarities and variations of soil having no effect on rent, no man can have done settlement work for a year or two, without feeling that his whole success must depend, first on his ascertaining the variations in soil which cause the variations in rent, and secondly in marking out the soil areas accurately. A perusal of Mr. C. A. Elliott's rent-rate reports of the Farrackabad district (the assessment of which is so roundly condemned in the book before us), would do much to make Mr. Connell understand the subject, and fit him in some measure for its discussion.

Much wonder is expressed at the sub-division of soils into twelve classes. When the vernacular names of twelve soils are recited, the English reader will very likely think that the system must be absurd and that the distinctions are fanciful. But it is really a very simple matter. There is hardly a square mile in the Doab, in which the three broad natural varieties of soil do not exist—clay, loam, and sand. Of course there are points at which these soils approach each other, and where distinction is difficult. But any man with a pair of eyes in his head can distinguish the difference between them, where the difference is such as to effect their agricultural value. And having achieved that he has only to ask, observe, and search about continually, trudging over the fields with the village people for eight hours a day consecutively for several months, in order to enable him to learn very fairly and practically the renting value of each soil. It is a problem that is literally solved *ambulando*. A stout pair of legs with a strong pair of boots, a head impervious to sun, and an average amount of brains, make a good settlement officer. Mr. Connell speaks with awe of trained land surveyors. I never saw a trained land surveyor, and I do not know what he is like. But I doubt whether he gets anything like the same practical training in the valuation of land as our settlement officers. Of course, if you pitch-fork into a district a young fellow who has had no training, or if you make over the settlement work to an old collector having no special aptitude for it and over-burdened with other duties, the consequences are likely to be what Mr. Connell describes. But it is not because it is wrong to take notice of the different values of soils that the failure takes place.

It might be possible to arrive at a tolerably fair assessment without a careful classification of soils, but only if very large tracts

were dealt with. So soon as you come to small areas and to the fixation of the tenants' rents, unless the village has been carefully inspected and the soil areas marked out with laborious accuracy, grief is inevitable. It is all very fine to say that you should leave the people to arrange their own rents. That is the mistake we made in the North-West before Act XIX of 1873 was passed. The author of "*Our Land Revenue Policy*" has not duly considered the subject. On page 48, he complains that the assessor did not aid the landowner to raise his rent. On page 49, he bewails the fact that the N.-W. P. Revenue Act, gives the settlement officer *no power to enhance the rents of tenants-at-will!* (who, by the way, do not form the great bulk of cultivators; on the contrary they are a small minority in most districts.) On page 129 in a note he says.—"There is really no necessity for fixing the rents of occupancy tenants in this way." The zemindars are to be left to sue, he says, and adds "the rent courts can determine without difficulty any cases which may come before them." The rent courts must be much more clever in that case than the settlement officers; and if Mr. Connell had his way, and the soils were not classified to guide them, they must be very superior rent courts indeed if they arrive at anything but a most preposterous conclusion,

As to the number of soils, nature and circumstances are to blame not the settlement officer. There are the three great natural classes, as has been said above. It is pretty well known that irrigation makes a difference in the renting value of land in India, at least in the part we are speaking of. Here, then, at once our soils become six. Then unfortunately the presence of manure and the distance from the village site also make a difference: and the people are so fastidious, and so disinclined to work on broad averages, that they make corresponding differences in the rent. The six soils have thus become twelve. Then, suppose that part of the country is in the low flooded lands bordering a river or large *jheel*; that is a fact we can hardly ignore because the minds of some men prefer a grand simplicity to details. But it is to be feared Mr. Connell is

. . . . "incredulous
of all our scrutinies and us."

He does not believe in settlement officers and prefers to trust the *patwari* and his village records.

The question of assessing high-caste tenants is not one that has been usually overlooked by settlement officers. According to the rules for enhancing rent published by the North West Board, the labour and skill of the cultivator are among the matters to be taken notice of. Act XVIII of 1873 makes it imperative to consider the caste of the tenant, if it is proved that by local custom

caste is taken into account in determining rent. But it is also necessary to remember Mr. Thomason's caution: "There is a great tendency, among natives especially, to assess heavily the poor and industrious classes of cultivators, and to be more lenient towards the powerful or the indolent. It is certainly impossible to fix the same *jama* on land of the same quality when held by the latter as the former; what would be unnecessarily indulgent to the former might be ruinously oppressive to the latter; but the former should not be denied a present fair profit, because they are industrious and may increase it, nor the latter allowed a present unfair profit, because they are unthrifty and are inclined to squander it."

And here I may say that the influence of caste on rents is not always so marked as Mr. Connell supposes. A minute inquiry over a large area in the Farrackabad district showed only a difference of one anna in the rupee between the rates paid by the high-caste and the skilled low-caste tenant. Where the custom does hold, it is taken into account; and, generally speaking, settlement officers in the North West always consider the caste of the tenants in assessing, but they may not always find it necessary to lower their rates on that account. We must believe Mr. Connell that in Oudh the custom of charging high-caste tenants less rent than others does exist and has been over-ridden by the settlement officers. "The non-recognition of this difficulty (*i.e.* of assessing all at the same level) was the cause of over-assessment in Oudh." If so, there was no excuse for it, as the Directions to Settlement Officers,—a book, it is supposed, not excluded from Oudh—should have drawn the attention of the assessing officers to the point. Sufficient care does not appear to have been taken in Oudh to train and guide the settlement officers. They were also, as Mr. Connell points out, overburdened with work which ought properly to have been done by a separate judicial staff.

With regard to *battai* villages, Mr. Connell says that the receipts of landowners are much less in *battai* villages where rents are all paid in kind. It may be so in Oudh. I have had a large experience of such villages in the North-West, and I can affirm that the cash rates ordinarily paid for similar land will seldom make up a rental equal to the average receipts in grain. The necessity for assessing such villages low arises when the grain rents have been commuted to cash. The peasantry unaccustomed to pay cash, and unable at first to manage their affairs so as to procure the money when they want it, cannot pay the customary rents. The mistakes in the Bareilly settlement, to which Mr. Connell alludes, arose rather from taking too sanguine a view of the continuance of cultivation in a wild neigh-

bourhood adjoining the *terai*, than from mistaken estimates of produce. Any how, so far as the Bareilly settlement is quoted as a charge against the North-West settlements, it is a bad example. The complaints against it have been closely investigated, and after a careful examination by Mr. R. Currie, very little occasion for amendment or alteration has been found.

Here I may notice a mistake made by Mr. Connell (pp. 196 and 197) in connection with this subject. He says, "In many instances the settlement officers appear to have endeavoured to commute all grain rents into cash rents, whether the cultivators were willing to pay cash rents, or whether they wished to continue their grain payments." This is one instance out of several in the book in which hasty inferences are drawn from some passage or quotation in an administration report without any attempt being made accurately to understand the subject. It may surprise Mr. Connell to learn that the applications for commutation are made almost invariably by the tenants who abhor the *battai* system and the oppression that accompanies it, and clamour for cash rents. If he had looked at the N.-W. P. Revenue Act which appears to be in his possession, he would have seen that either party—that is either landlord or tenant—has a legal right to claim commutation. To say that the settlement officer endeavoured to commute the grain rents against the will of the tenants, is to crowd as many inaccuracies into one sentence as the words could well convey.

The objection to the system of raising the revenue too suddenly and before the zemindars have time to adjust their rents, has more in it than most of the other charges made by Mr. Connell. In the North-West this fault has been effectually remedied by the powers given to settlement officers under the new Revenue Act, and by making the new revenues progressive when the enhancement is large. The same methods should be adopted in Oudh.

The unequal distribution of revenue among the co-sharers is a grave mistake and fatal to any settlement. It is a matter to which great attention is paid in the North-West. If we can trust Mr. Connell, the Oudh revenue authorities have much to answer for in this matter. They pressed on the new assessments, with the object of pleasing the Government of India, then suffering under its financial crisis. They allowed no time for the arrangement of matters among the coparceners, more especially in the case of villages in which there were proprietary bodies under the Talukdar. Hence, with the object of gaining credit for a spurious loyalty, they disregarded their real duty both to the Government and people. "In some districts, notably Fyzabad, Gonda, Kheri, and parts of Sultanpore, at a time of supposed financial pressure,

the revision of the assessment was hurried on, and a greatly enhanced demand was imposed, before the settlement officer had had time to adjust the rights and liabilities of the various sharers and under-proprietors affected by the operation. It is not difficult to understand that a course such as this necessarily entails great hardship on the persons directly responsible for the Government revenue, and results in their frequent default. They cannot themselves meet the whole of the Government demand, and they are not in the position to recover from their co-sharers and subordinate holders their fair quota of the increase."

This statement does not depend on the authority of Mr. Connell. It is a quotation from page 13 of the Oudh Revenue Report of 1872-73. So we read in the same report, "In Kheri much of the trouble is to be ascribed to the fact that here, as in parts of Gonda and Fyzabad, operations were pushed on with more haste than was perhaps advisable, in order to secure the Government an enhanced revenue as soon as possible." There was a standing rule, that after a new assessment was declared, a year should be given to the landowners to adjust their rents before it was collected. "On the occurrence of the financial panic in 1869, the Chief Commissioner, *loyally doing his utmost to assist the Government of India*, directed this rule to be disregarded in the parganas which were assessed at that time." The italics are mine. The less of such loyalty that is asked for or given, the longer we are likely to keep our present position in the world. The financial panic of 1869 has very much to answer for. Among other things, hundreds of ruined families and disloyal hearts in Oudh.

On the whole I do not think that Mr. Connell has made out his charges against our *system* of settlement. There is nothing in the *system* which need lead to over-assessment, and so far as his objections are against the method, and not against the way it has been worked in Oudh, they are weak.

But he has made out a very grave indictment against the Oudh settlements. They appear, as a rule, to have been made by officers who can have had no proper training, and who were over-burdened with judicial work. The settlement officers seem to have received no guidance from the chief revenue authorities, while the real interests of Government and the people were sacrificed by the Chief Commissioner of the time from a mistaken sense of loyalty to the Supreme Government. It is a very sad story. Oudh, our latest acquisition, has been worse bungled than our first. Where are the Thomasons, Birds, and Thorntons of Oudh? The Oudh Government either had few good men, or did not know how to pick them out.

III.

Mr. Connell's remarks on the collection of the revenue are more valuable in themselves than his criticisms on the settlement system. There is a common saying in the North-West, *Jama narm, tahsil garm*. That is the beau ideal of a revenue system : an easy assessment with a strict collection of the revenue.

There is, as Mr. Connell well remarks, a tendency to avoid the use of coercive processes in the collection. It is held for some reason to indicate careless and slovenly action on the Collector's part. Nothing can be more unsound. The only result of frightening collectors from using the legal methods of coercion is, that they leave the whole thing to the Tahsildars. It is the tendency of the Tahsildars always to go back to the old native practices : That is to say, instead of reporting the default, getting the settlement annulled and having the village legally transferred for a term, they take the defaulter to the money-lender and compel him to raise the money by sale or mortgage. The consequence is that the revenue may be collected with the greatest difficulty, and yet there may be no outward sign whatever of coercion. The sore is all the worse for being thus covered over.

Now I maintain that it is the power of selling land for arrears which is at the bottom of this evil. If the Zemindars knew that their land could not be sold, they would not mortgage and sell their rights at the bidding of the Tahsildar. I am confirmed in this opinion by the growing popularity of the new privilege given to landowners under the N.-W. P. Revenue Act, of declaring themselves disqualified and placing their estates under the Court of Wards, *i.e.*, under the Collector of the district. If they do this willingly and freely to avoid the burden of private debt and the consequences of mismanagement, why do they not do it when through hard times or the same mismanagement, they fall into arrears with their revenue? Simply because they are not allowed. Coercive processes are in disrepute. The Collector's returns must be clean. Consequently the defaulters, instead of being summoned by the Collectors, are left to the Tahsildar ; who as Mr. Connell says, persecutes them,—literally persecutes them,—into selling or mortgaging their lands. I do not think that anything will check this evil effectually so long as sale for arrears of revenue is allowed. Much, no doubt, might be done if the business of collection was more closely supervised by the English officers. In the North-West Provinces, notwithstanding the wishes of Government repeatedly declared, it has been, and still is, the usual practice of Collectors of districts to keep all the work of collection in their own hands ; or more correctly speaking, they habitually exclude their Covenanted assistants from any share in this work. Do it themselves they

cannot. It is common to hear Collectors bewailing their inability to control six or seven Tahsildars, and offering this as an apology for their failure to administer this part of their duties. It never seems to strike them that their senior assistant, at any rate—usually in these days a bald or grey-headed man of middle age—might be employed with some profit on the work. At the risk of giving offence to many excellent men, I must say that jealousy of power is the motive for their present practice. The command of a district acts in many ways on a man's character like the command of a ship. Most men are apt to imagine after a time that they are much greater than they really are, and to grudge the least appearance of power or authority to their inferiors. They speak of the collection of the revenue as of some occult science, to the knowledge of which no wretched assistant need aspire. "I keep it all in my own hands," is the proud boast of many Collectors. So they do; but they do nothing with it. If they had no assistants of sufficient experience there might be some reason for this practice. But no one can say that such is the case in the North-West or Oudh.

Until the Government shows a determination to enforce its declared views in this respect, it is probable that there will be much change; and without a change of practice there will be no reform in our system of collection. All that Mr. Connell has written on this subject is well worth reading and considering, and his fifth chapter contains many valuable hints.

I do not go with Mr. Connell in his proposal to return to the native system of exacting security from the headmen of defaulting villages for the punctual payment of revenue. No native goes security for another without exacting a price. The proposal would only add to a burden which, in his own opinion, is too heavy as it is. Surely the land itself is quite sufficient. Mr. Connell thinks that if security were taken, the surety might in case of default be put at once in possession of the land for five years. And he thinks that this would be preferable to the present system of farm. He complains of the delay caused by exacting reports, and requiring the sanction of the chief revenue authority in the case of farms and transfers. In the N.-W. Provinces the Collector has power under the law to attach the defaulter's land at once and hold it for five years, if the balance is not paid up sooner, without any reference to superior authority. In the case of farms and transfers a report is necessary. But if the Collector has enquired into the case, as he ought to do, before taking action of any sort, it will not take him ten minutes to write the brief report which is required. Some sort of consistent policy is necessary in the administration; and if every Collector had independent power, there would be as many policies as Collectors.

It is said, by Mr. Connell, that the dates of our revenue instalments are in some cases too late, and that the landowners have time to spend the money which should have been paid into the treasury. "It may be doubted whether the dates appointed for payment of the revenue instalments are not fixed too late . . . the money meanwhile burns in their pockets, or else the money-lender is putting on the screw: and part of it, at any rate, is applied to other purposes than to the prompt payment of the land-tax." p.p. 156-7.

It is curious that all the best revenue authorities in the North-West hold the opposite view. The usual dates in the North-West Provinces are November and December for the *khari* harvest, and May and June for the *rabi*. The same dates, it is believed, are in use in Oudh. All through his book, it appears to me, Mr. Connell loses sight of the interests of the cultivator. If, as he recommends, the dates were made a month earlier in either case, it is a matter of certainty that the cultivator would have to borrow even more than he does now at the ruinous rate of interest which prevails at rent time, *viz.*, 72 per cent. per annum. The cultivator has little or nothing coming in before the middle of October. By the plan which Mr. Connell approves, he is expected to provide for one-eighth of his rent in the middle of September. It is calculated that nearly all the revenue, one-fourth generally of the entire demand, which is paid into the treasury in November, has been borrowed by the cultivators at usurious interest. The crops first ripe—the early rice and the maize—are usually kept for food. It is cruel and wasteful to force the cultivators to accept the alternative of throwing his food-grain into the market the moment it is ripe, or of borrowing money at exorbitant interest. The grain-dealer becomes master of the situation. The only plan which is consistent with the welfare of the cultivating classes is one which gives them fair time to cut and store their grain, and a little leisure to look about them before they sell it. The dates for the revenue instalments must, or rather should, depend on the dates for the payment of rent. Fix the right date for the rent, and that for the revenue can be determined so as not to leave the money too long in the pockets of the revenue-payers. But to aggravate the present evils, and to thrust the agricultural classes still more under the foot of the grain-dealer and usurer, as Mr. Connell recommends, is a retrograde proposal; and it is surprising to find it advocated at the present time.

IV.

A good deal of space is devoted in Mr. Connell's book to the difficulty experienced by landowners in Oudh in collecting their

rents. He draws a harrowing picture of the poor landlord: "The crops fail and some of the tenants have to spend their rents in marrying their daughters, and he can only collect Rs. 400 of which he, of course, pays Rs. 200 to the treasury." Then he has to go into court, pay the cost of stamps, lawyers, and processes for the underlings, and so forth. When he gets his decree and goes to execute it he finds nothing but an old wooden bed and a brass pot. And altogether he is made out to be a very interesting and ill-used person. All this is very picturesquely told (see pp. 105-107). As not a word is said of the landlord's summary power of distraint, the reader at first finds his sympathies enlisted on his side, and begins to look upon the Oudh cultivator as a very unscrupulous rascal, and the Oudh landlord as among the meekest and most patient of men. A little further on, however, the fact that the landlord can distrain strikes Mr. Connell, and he proceeds to explain that "the low-caste tenants, as a rule, pay their rent punctually and that it is the under-proprietor, the holder of *sir* land, or the sharer in a sub-settled village who is the usual defaulter."

And here, before going into the question between the Talukdar and the under-proprietor, I must stop to say a word for the character of one of whom Mr. Connell seems all through this question to take little note—the Indian ryot. Can any man have had much to do with the peasantry of this country without having some pity and admiration for the patient, thrifty, toiling ryot, from whose labour the greater part of our revenue comes. I do not mean to say he is an angel. He is crafty, and often ingeniously dishonest; but it is for the most part when he is dishonestly used. To say that he habitually keeps his rent back or tries to defraud the landlord and the "*Sirkar*" is a calumny. The history of every village and district in India will deny it. He has a feeling of honour about his rent which, I believe, few men of a similar class in other countries can boast. If you oppress him, distrain his crops for rent he has paid, sue him for arrears he does not owe, forge the village records, and bribe the *patwari* to swear away his property, he will oppose fraud to fraud, craft to craft; and, in the extremity of his misery, he will flee from his homestead. But deal with him honestly and kindly, treat him like a man and not like a slave, and, I believe, he will pay his rent, even when he has not wherewith all to get a meal. When the crops fail, how can this wretched man, who has to borrow at every harvest the money to buy his seed, who never in his life was out of debt, how can he pay his rent? And when do the rents in Oudh fall due? Enquiry would show that the rents become due before the peasant can cut or sell his crop. What has a man got which he can bring to market early in October? Must he not eat? The early

rice and the maize are what he has to live on. Since the last grain of his spring harvest was consumed, he and his children have had scanty and poor food for many days. His cotton will not be ready for two months. The great tall millets are still unripe: How can he pay his rent? Simply by borrowing at seventy-five per cent. And so it is at the spring harvest. Yet ninety-nine out of a hundred of these men who, barring their plough-bullocks, given to them on trust by the *Bunjaras*, and often still unpaid for, never had twenty rupees' worth of property in their lives, do pay up their rent with the greatest regularity. It would be a very bad thing for us if they did not. Instead of crying out for more stringent measures against them,—and except the tortures and incendiary of the native system it is not easy to see what is left—suppose we tried to help them. Suppose that we established a system of loans to these cultivators, which would enable them to get money for their seed and their rent at a moderate cost, it appears to me that it would be a more merciful and probably more successful plan. Such an attempt to assist the cultivator is now being made on a small scale in the North-West. If it succeeds it will be extended elsewhere, and will do more to enrich the landowners and enable them to collect their rents than all the terrors of law that we could arm them with, or that Mr. Connell can recommend.

But it seems that I am wasting my indignation; for it is the under-proprietor who will not pay and he is comparatively a gentleman and a man of position. The relation of the Talukdar to the under-proprietor, as they stand at present, is an Oudh question, and I can only discuss it as an outsider. But it seems to me impossible to treat it as a difficulty caused by a defect and oversight in the law, to be remedied by giving the Talukdar summary powers of distress against the inferior holder; evidently we have not to do here with the mere dishonest recusancy of an impecunious tenant. The under-proprietors are in fact the owners of the land, holding a heritable and transferable right. So far from the Talukdar having no remedy against them, he has the same ultimate remedy against them, which the Government has against himself: their land can be attached and sold to pay their debts. Why then do they prefer to force the Talukdar into court to recover his rent charge? In some cases, no doubt, they have been too heavily assessed, a man cannot pay more merely because part of his payments go to the third party and not to Government. The under-proprietors are in the position of Zemindars. On them falls all the burden and risk of management. If it has been found by experience that not more than fifty per cent. of the rental can safely be taken as revenue by Government,

there is no reason to expect an under-proprietor to pay seventy per cent. The payment is not easier to him because he is called by a new name and because part of the revenue is received by a Talukdar. But apart from over-assessment which may in some cases be at the bottom of the difficulty, it is evident that there is bitter enmity* between the two classes of superior and inferior holders. Mr. Connell tells us what was the case under the native administration, which he apparently wishes to return to as closely as may be : " Under the native administration the Raja, in order " to force his sub-holders to pay, could make use of all the coercive " processes which the revenue collector could employ against the " defaulting independent landowner ; he could arrest the defaulter, " imprison him in his fort, and send his agent with a body " of retainers to collect the rents due from the cultivators ; he " could attach and carry off the under-proprietor's wheat and " sugar-cane ; he could drive him off to the jungle, plunder and " burn down his house, seize his movable property, and even " sell his wife and children, or if he could catch the fugitive, he could " torture him and force him to sell or transfer his share to some other " solvent kinsman." It was no doubt very agreeable to the Rajas to be able to resort to all these measures—'coercive processes' as our author euphemistically calls them—for the collection of their rents. But they can hardly have appeared right or equitable either to the defaulter, or the 'solvent kinsman' who, no doubt, had to undergo them in his turn. It can be easily understood that men who were formerly accustomed to help themselves in this way, feel the legal restraints now imposed on them to be somewhat irksome. But we must not be in too great a hurry to meet their views. We may endeavour to govern by and through natives. We can hardly, at any rate in the present state of European opinion, adopt their methods of administration, even if " it is admitted by those who have paid any attention to these matters, that we must in some degree return to the native revenue system in dealing with these under-proprietary difficulties."

The question of the relations which ought to exist between the Talukdars and the village Zemindars is one depending on the history of each individual case. It is a question distinctly of right. Speaking as an outsider, I am inclined to think that in most of the cases in which the Zemindars refuse to pay their revenue to the Talukdar, it will be found that they contest the Talukdar's rights. There were, as every one knows, two kinds of Talukdars. There was the old hereditary chieftain ; and there was the usurper or revenue collector. From my knowledge of the North-West, I should say, that in very few instances do the village Zemindars kick against the rule of their hereditary

chief. In numerous cases they have disclaimed all rights in his favor, and have recorded themselves as his tenants. Not so with the usurper or revenue farmer. To him they show a very different face. They resent his intrusion as a robbery and an insult. They know that it is a fight for life. He will encroach inch by inch on their rights; he will appropriate their trees and their waste lands; he will keep them waiting for days and weeks when they bring his revenue; he will exact homage and perquisites from them; he will forge deeds against them; he will destroy them. They know this well. Now in many cases the villages that have been included in talukas are the rightful property of the under-proprietors. The Talukdar's connection with them has been that of a revenue-farmer, or in some cases of a temporary ally or protector, in others of a money-lender and oppressor. If the summary settlement of 1856 was hasty and unjust to the one side, as no doubt it was, it is to be feared that the no less hasty proceedings which followed the subjugation of Oudh went further than the restoration of a just balance. Hence we now have in many cases a deadly struggle going on between the two parties. The village Zemindars know that their right is indisputable, with the annexation they escaped for a time from the galling yoke of their powerful neighbours. They tasted freedom and enjoyed it. During the mutiny the Talukdars treated them as the Turks will probably treat the Servians. Their villages were plundered, their houses burnt, and their property destroyed. After the mutiny the same power that had freed them thrust them back again under the feet of their oppressors. But they again made their voices heard, and by the Sub-settlement Act of 1866 a certain measure of protection was given to them. The present state of feeling between the two classes is graphically described by Mr. Connell: "The feelings of hatred between many of the old proprietors and the Talukdars have been intensified by protracted litigation in the settlement courts; those who have obtained decrees for sub-settlement are conspicuous defaulters, and those who have been unsuccessful are equally resolved not to pay more rent to the Talukdar than the State can compel them to contribute; the Talukdar strives to ruin them, and they in their turn yearn to see their antagonist reduced to the same straits, as those to which they themselves have been reduced through his agency and the policy of our Government."

Under such circumstances it would be impolitic or rather impossible to increase the Talukdar's powers, and to let him enforce his own claims for rent. Happily with one exception no such proposal is made by Mr. Connell. He is inclined perhaps to take a somewhat one-sided view of the question and to make

more of the inconvenience felt by the Talukdar, than of the injustice we have in many cases done the sub-proprietor. But he sees clearly that remedy in this case must be the separation rather than the closer union of the contending parties. The remedy he proposes in all cases where the sub-proprietors are the real owners of the village, is the complete severance of the village from all direct connection with the Talukdar. The revenue must be collected by the Government officers from the under-proprietors, and the Talukdar must receive his share from the Treasury. His right and power of interference must be summarily stopped. In the justice and policy of this proposal every one must agree. Indeed, no other remedy suggests itself. But Mr. Connell goes on to say, that while it would be dangerous to give the landowner (by which term he means apparently the Talukdar), any power to collect the rents direct from the cultivators, yet he would invest him with power to distrain the crops on the under-proprietor's own farm. This suggestion, if I understand it, is hardly consistent with the other. It would, moreover, tend more to aggravate the present ill-feeling, and would place more opportunities for oppression in the hands of the superior owner than any other measure that could be devised. If the first proposal were adopted and the revenue of sub-settled villages, where such a measure was necessary, were reduced, the true remedy would probably be found for the evils described.

• ——— •
V.

I had intended to notice many other matters discussed by Mr. Connell, more especially his remarks on my proposal to give the Government a right of pre-emption in all cases of sale of land. But the truth is that Mr. Connell's book is so suggestive and touches on so many matters, that adequately to criticise and answer all he says would require much more space than can be given to a review article.

As regards my pre-emption scheme, I venture to say that it has still to be fairly discussed and fairly tried. If it is of importance to prevent the transfers of land going on as hitherto quite beyond our control, I see no way equally good of attaining that end. The whole reason of the proposal depends on the importance of the object. If the importance is great, it is no answer to say that the Collector cannot do the work. I have probably had as much experience of what Collectors can and cannot do as Mr. Connell has. A Collector in the North-West can manage a great many villages, and manage them well. If the work went beyond him, it would of course be necessary to give him assistance. As to determining the purchase-money, the proposal never contemplated any interference with the market

value of land. I believe many of these objections are chimerical. The embarrassed landowners would welcome the interference of Government. When the Collector takes an interest and succeeds in the management of villages, as more than one North-West Collector does, it is surprising to see how anxious men in difficulties are to put their estates under the Court of Wards, and how ready they are to live on a small allowance, and to practice every economy with the hope of escaping from ruin. Nothing pleases the creditors better, in many instances, than to find a prospect of some arrangement being made; and they are often willing to reduce the rate of interest on condition that the estate is put under the Court. If the Government could advance money for the purpose, it would be easy at this moment to take over not only with the consent, but at the earnest desire of the proprietors the estates of many old families who are fast going to the dogs. In many cases careful and economical management would restore their fortunes. But it is out of their own power to effect it. In several cases in the North-West Provinces money has been advanced by Government, and the debts of the proprietors are being paid off.

If the estate was hopelessly involved, and the purchase-money which others were ready to give was extravagantly large, I do not, and never did, advocate that Government should always buy it. But even in such cases, from a political point of view, the money might sometimes be well invested. I insisted strongly in proposing to secure to Government a right of pre-emption, that it was a power which Government might never exercise unless they wished, and that under my scheme they could never be involved in any great failure. A few experiments would show whether the proposal was practical or not. Mr. Connell, as well as other critics, has argued as if the right must always and of necessity be put in force.

I still hope that we shall see this question of the compulsory transfer of land and the indebtedness of landowners dealt with in some large way, and not merely battered about with the small shot of political economists. In the meanwhile, the North-West Revenue Act—by the clause which allows proprietors to be disqualified at their own request—has given us a great weapon for good. A liberal use of this clause will show us how far we can go with advantage, and will probably lead to another step forward.

But I have overstepped the limits which I had assigned to myself. I congratulate Mr. Connell on his book, which I trust will be read by every man in his own service and by every one who takes an interest in Indian politics.

C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE.

ART. VI.—THE LAST OF THE BRITISH BARDS.

THE narrative of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons is well described by Gibbon as "a story familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned." The general reader who has acquired his knowledge of early English history from Hume or Goldsmith, is usually under the impression that, within a very brief space of time after the death of Vortigern, the Saxons became undisputed masters of the island, with the exception of the Highlands of Scotland, Wales, and certain districts in Cornwall and Devon. He little imagines that the struggle for mastery was prosecuted for fully one hundred years, and even then terminated, in a great measure, through the mutual dissensions and jealousies of the British Chiefs, rather than through any superior valour or military skill on the part of the Saxons. It was not until the middle of the sixth century that the present border counties of England and Scotland were finally subdued by the Angles, and that such of the Britons as still preferred freedom to servitude, were driven into the mountainous districts west of the Severn. Such little truth is there in the querulous calumnies of the apocryphal Gildas, who stigmatises his countrymen as "an indolent and slothful race," "incapable of forging as of wielding weapons of war, and altogether destitute of manly worth ! He uses indeed, very similar language to characterise their long and desperate resistance to the Roman legionaries, who, as he affirms, subjugated "this unwarlike, but faithless, people not so much by fire and sword, and martial engines, like other nations, but by threats alone." In like manner he declares that under that "deceitful lioness," Boadicea, "their backs were their shields against their vanquishers, and that they presented their necks to the Roman swords, whilst chill terror ran through every limb, and they stretched out their hands to be bound like women ; so that it has become a proverb far and wide that the Britons are neither brave in war nor faithful in time of peace." Fortunately for the military reputation of the early inhabitants of the British Isles there remains the testimony of the Romans themselves, who never failed to bear witness to the fierce valour of their undisciplined foes, whose fearlessness of death they ascribed to a belief in the transmigration of souls. It is needless to look beyond the Annals or the Agricola of Tacitus to be satisfied that the conquest of Britain by the Romans was an achievement of no ordinary difficulty, and scarcely less honorable to the conquered than to the conquerors.

In the case of the Saxons, however, there was a remarkable difference. The invaders were themselves utterly illiterate, and by the time they had acquired some knowledge of letters were little disposed to celebrate the prowess of their late enemies and still rebellious subjects. Like the mighty men of valour who flourished prior to Agamemnon, Briton and Saxon alike have suffered from the lack of sacred bards to sing of their gallant exploits "in the brave days of old." The Saxons have fared even worse than the vanquished Britons, for in the latter days of the fatal struggle there shone forth among these a galaxy of minstrels, many of whose patriotic effusions have come down to our own times. And yet we find Milton longing for an opportunity to redress the wrong worked by Time's effacing fingers, by rescuing from oblivion, or by inventing, the deeds of high emprise accomplished by Arthur and his adventurous knights:—

*Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmine reges,
Arturumque, etiam sub terris bella moventem ! •
Aut dicam: invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ,
Magnanimos heroas et O ! modo spiritus adsit,
Frangam Saxonias Britonum sub Marte phalanges!*

The early successes of the Saxons were, no doubt, largely attributable to the fact that Maximus had drained Britain of her warlike youth, and thereby laid the country open to the devastations of the Picts and Scots. And before these terrible breaches in the arms-bearing population could be repaired, the various cognate tribes of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes descended at different points of the coast, and by hard fighting won the ground on which they were encamped. But the chief source of weakness on the part of the islanders were the inopportune divisions which disunited their princes and leaders. In the early part of the sixth century the northern portion of England, and the southern and western districts of Scotland were governed by a number of petty independent Chieftains at perpetual feud with one another, who not unfrequently gratified their private animosities by confederating themselves with the common enemy. A notable instance of the horrible character of these internecine commotions is furnished by the battle of Arderydd,* fought between Gwenddolau ap Ceidiaw and Aeddan Tredawg on the one side, and Rhydderch Hael, a Prince of Cumbria, on the other. The latter proved victorious, but one of his followers fell by the hand of his own uncle Merddin ap

* The battle of Arderydd is mentioned in the Triads as one of the "three frivolous battles of the Island of Britain," the cause of strife being a "lark's nest. According to tradition, 80,000 warriors were slain, among whom were Gwenddolau and

four of Merlin Sylvester's brothers. It may be here remarked that *dd* has the sound of *th* in *then*: thus Merddin is pronounced Meithin, which M. de la Villemarqué distorts into Merzyn.

Morvryn—better known as Merlin Sylvester, or Celidonius, because, being seized with frenzy on discovering what he had done, the unhappy bard wandered about the Caledonian forest until reclaimed by the gentle care of his twin-sister, Gwendydd, the mother of the ill-fated youth whom he had deprived of life. In honour of this Merddin, or Merlin, who must not be confounded with his Welsh namesake, Geoffrey of Monmouth composed a Latin poem, dedicated to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, in which he describes with considerable spirit, though in rugged verse, the insanity of the involuntary nepocide :—

Et fugit ad sylvas, nec vult fugiendo videri,
Ingrediturque nemus, gaudetque latere sub ormis,
Miraturque feras nascentes gramina saltus ;
Nunc has insequitur, nunc cursu præterit illas.
Utitur herbarum radicibus, utitur herbis ;
Utitur arboreo fructu, morisque rubeti.
Fit Sylvester homo, quasi sylvis deditus esset.

M. de la Villemarqué, in his usual off-hand manner, dismisses the poems attributed to the unfortunate Merddin as unworthy of notice, regarding them as the inventions of a later age. There seems no reason, however, for denying him whatever credit may be due to his wearisome stanzas in praise of an orchard containing 174 apple-trees, which had been presented to him by his patron Gwenddolau ap Ceidiaw. The poem is entitled "Avalle-nau," or the Apple-trees, and consists of as many stanzas as there were trees in the orchard. According to Mr. Davies, the apparent meaning is not the true one. Merlin, he says, was the last of the Druids, his Christianity being strongly tinctured with paganism, and thus, under the pretence of eulogising Gwenddolau's munificence, he dilated on the mysteries of his order. The trees, we are assured, symbolised the constellations, while the apples are the stars, just as the golden apples "which Hercules procured from the garden of the Hesperides pointed at the science of astronomical divination." It may be asked, indeed, what object could be gained by thus confusing knowledge and multiplying words without wisdom? If bardism had practically ceased to exist, to what purpose was it to arrange its symbols in rhythmical order, when there was no one left to interpret them? But mere common-sense objections have little weight with such an ingenious theorist as the author of the "Mythology of the British Druids," who discovers the most recoudite allusions in the simplest descriptions.

The other poems ascribed to Merlin are very likely apocryphal, though Mr. Davies accredits him with the early portion of "Hoianau," or "Invocation to Pigs," with a curious specimen of which he favours the unlearned public. It should be premised that pig

is in this instance supposed to be a synonym for Druid, and that Merlin's intention was to warn his brethren to flee from the persecution of Rhydderch Hael, the champion of the Christian faith :—

“Attend, little Pig, thou initiated Pig! Burrow not with thy snout on the top of the Hill. Burrow in a secret hiding-place amongst the forests—a place which has not been noted by Rhydderch the Liberal, the champion of the faith. Attend, little Pig! It was necessary to depart—to avoid the hunters of the water-dwellings, if they should attempt to seize us—lest the persecution should come upon us, and we should be seen. If we can but escape, we will not deplore our calamitous toil.”

Of all the petty rulers who strove to the last to make head against the encroaching foreigners, none has been more enthusiastically commemorated than Urien, Prince of Reged, a district lying along the northern bank of the Humber. This Chieftain's most formidable opponent was the celebrated Ida Flamddwyn, or Flame bearer, of the ancient bards, who married a British lady named Bun, unfavourably immortalised in the Triads as one of the three most unchaste women of the island of Britain. After defeating Ida on more than one occasion, the gallant Urien was treacherously slain by Llôvan Llawddifro, or Llovan of the Hated Haud, who had been instigated to the crime by Morgant, a neighbouring Chief, jealous of Urien's renown and influence. The untimely end of this patriotic prince was bitterly bewailed by his kinsman Llywarch Hên, the son of Elidir Lydnwyn, lord of Argoed, and designated in the Triads as one of the “three free and discontented guests of Arthur's Court,” and also as one of the “three counselling knights of the court of Arthur.” A considerable number of Llywarch Hên's poems are still extant, and were rendered into English by Mr. William Owen, afterwards more generally known as Dr. Owen Pughe. After the death of his four and twenty sons, all decorated with the torques, who fell in defence of their native country, Llywarch Hên took refuge in Powys, at the court of Prince Cynddylan. Subsequently he removed to Aber Cuawg in Montgomeryshire, and is said to have been buried in the Church of Llanvor, at the patriarchal age of 150. He was not, however, strictly speaking a bard, but rather a Minstrel-Warrior, for bards proper were forbidden the use of arms, nor was it deemed becoming to draw a sword in their presence. The metre almost invariably employed by Llywarch was called the Triban Milwr, or Warrior's Triplet, and is chiefly remarkable for its severe simplicity. His practice of repeating the same idea through several successive stanzas is, however, very trying to the taste of the present day, which has little patience for monotonies.

The praises of Urien of Reged were chanted also by Taliesin, surnamed Pen of Beirdd, or Chief of the Bards. Seventy-eight

poems still exist, ascribed by Welsh scholars to this most incomprehensible of poets. His muse, however, does not lack variety, and his effusions may be classified under many heads—historical, mystical, eulogistic, elegiac, theological, and lyrical. Like Merlin, the son of Morvryn, he appears to have leaned to the Druidical superstitions, while he must be held to have rivalled Pythagoras in his knowledge of his previous impersonations, though many of his appearances upon earth were of a considerably less distinguished character than those claimed by the Samian sage. He says of himself:—

“My lore has been disclosed in Hebrew. A second time was I formed. I have been a blue salmon; I have been a dog; I have been a stag; I have been a roebuck on the mountain; I have been a stock of a tree; I have been a spade; I have been an axe in the hand; I have been a pin in a forceps for a year and a half; I have been a buck of a yellow hue in the act of feeding; I have been a grain of the Arkites which vegetated on a hill; and then the reaper placed me in a smoky recess that I might be compelled freely to yield my corn, when subjected to tribulation. I was received by a hen with red fangs and a divided crest”—and so on, to an intolerable length of nonsense.

Not less enigmatical is his “Priddeu Annwn,” or the spoils of Annwn,* a close translation of which is given in Sharon Turner’s “Vindication of the British Bards.” Annwn represents the *Tartara regna*, the land of shadows, whose king is one of the principal characters in the Mabinogi entitled “Pwyll Pendevig Dyved.” Another of Taliesin’s mystical poems is named “Kâd Goddeu” or the Battle of the Trees, that is of intentions, designs, or devices. Mr. Davies discovers in this poem an allusion to the bardic alphabet, or language of the sages, who employed as symbols of expression, sprigs, twigs, and leaves. Be that as it may, when Taliesin condescends to be intelligible, he frequently displays considerable powers of description and occasionally indulges in touches that border on the poetic. For instance, he likens the onslaught of his favourite hero Owain ap Urien, to “the course of a meteor over the land,” and of an army on the march he says, “their sword-blades tinged with blue the wings of the dawn.” His verses in praise of Owain of Réged are marked also with much fervour and breathe the very spirit of battle, as in his “Gwaith Gwenystrad.”

According to the Hanes Taliesin, the bard was exposed, a new born babe, in a leather bag, and was discovered in a salmon-weir by Elffin, the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, King of Gwent or Monmouthshire. That needy prince manifesting grjevous

* Is it superfluous to remind the reader that *w* in Welsh is pronounced like the Greek Omega.

disappointment at finding only a child when he hoped to have had a good haul of fish, the inspired babe apostrophised him in verse, bidding him not to despond for that he, though little, was richly gifted. "Weak and small as I am on the foaming beach of the ocean, in the day of trouble I shall be of more service to thee than three hundred salmon." And he fulfils this promise, for when Elffin is thrown into prison by his uncle Maelgwl Gwynedd, for asserting that he possessed the most virtuous wife and the most skilful bard in the whole world, Taliesin achieves his liberation by chanting some perfectly incomprehensible verses, aided by some utterly absurd miracles. At the same time it is quite clear that the so-called translations of these ancient British poems are for the more part mere guess-work, and at the best are so bald and literal that they miss the spirit, the point, and even the real meaning of the originals.

Taliesin was naturally disgusted with the new order of bards then springing up, who were in fact wandering minstrels, the forerunners of the Breton and Norman *trouvères*. He accuses them of leading lazy, useless, sensual lives, fomenting vice and discouraging virtue, fawning upon the rich and turning their backs upon the poor.

"Minstrels," he says "persevere in their false custom. Immoral ditties are their delight. Vain and tasteless praise they recite. Falsehood at all times do they utter. Innocent persons they ridicule; married women they destroy; innocent virgins of Mary they corrupt. * * At night they get drunk; they sleep the day. In idleness without work they feed themselves. The church they hate, and the tavern they frequent. With thieves and perjured fellows they associate. * * The birds fly, the fish swim, bees collect honey, worms crawl, everything travails and obtains its food, except minstrels and lazy useless thieves. I deride neither song nor minstrelsy, for they were given by God and lighten thought, but him who abuses them by blaspheming Jesus and His service."

On quitting Monmouthshire Taliesin appears to have proceeded to the Court of Urien of Reged, and is supposed to have died about the year 570 of the Christian era. There is some reason to believe that in his early manhood he was one of the pupils of Catwg, or Cadoc, the Wise, at Llanfeithan in Glamorganshire, where he became acquainted with Aneurin. Geoffrey of Monmouth in his "*Vita Merlini*" speaks of him as having visited Brittany and sat at the feet of Gildas:—

Venit etiam noviter de partibus Armoricanis,
Dulcia quo didicit sapientis dogmata Gildae.

The evidence of Galfridus, however, is not always trustworthy, nor is the point of much importance, though it may be not without interest to inquire to whom he alluded under the name of Gildas the Wise. It is generally, perhaps universally, admitted that Gildas was one of the four-and-twenty sons of

Caw, a Strathcluyd Briton who fled from the Angles into North Wales, but subsequently settled in Glamorganshire. According to Gibbon, he was "a monk who, in the profound ignorance of human life, has presumed to exercise the office of historian." No doubt there was a Gildas whose history obtained much favour in early times, but it is by no means certain that that identical history has been handed down to the present day. The internal evidence is decidedly against such a conclusion, and irresistibly so if Gildas and Aneurin were one and the same person. Of Aneurin it is known that he composed the oldest poem extant after those of the classic writers, that he was present at the fatal battle of Cattraeth, and that he afterwards retired to Llayfeithan, and became a disciple of Catwg the Wise. He was, moreover, a native of the district of Gododin—whose inhabitants were called by the Romans the Ottadini—and made common cause with his neighbour and friend Mynyddawg, the Lord of Eiddyn, or Edinburgh, against the Saxons and their British tributaries, or auxiliaries, from Deira and Bernicia. The inopportune hospitality of Mynyddawg proved the ruin of himself and his allies. Three hundred and sixty-three chieftains, wearing the *torques*, feasted in Eiddyn preparatory to taking the field, and while yet under the influence of mead were overpowered and cut to pieces, with the exception of three, Aneurin being one of the survivors. It is probable that he was present in his bardic character as a herald, as he attributes his escape to his "candid muse." But, though he saved his life, he lost his liberty, and was thrown into prison with fetters on his legs, and was otherwise maltreated. From this miserable condition he was at length rescued by the gallantry of Cenau, one of the brave but ill-fated sons of Llywarch Hên. Of his poem entitled "Gododin," only 97 stanzas remain, though it is supposed to have consisted of 363, one for each chieftain who fought on that disastrous day, overcome by mead. Mr. Williams, indeed, endeavours to explain away Aneurin's direct and simple statement of the fact, and refuses to believe that his heroes were a set of drunken barbarians. He also asserts that the battle began on a Tuesday and lasted the whole week, but he omits to adduce his proofs. Taliesin was evidently of opinion that the defeat of his countrymen was attributable to their excessive potations at Eiddyn, for he says: "With Mynyddawg ruinous became their beverage; long the cause of woe for the men of Cattraeth." Nor can anything be more explicit than Aneurin's own words:—

Men went to Cattraeth; loquacious were their hosts;
Pale mead had been their feast, and was their poison.

* * * * *

They had drunk together the sparkling mead by the light of rushes
Pleasant was its taste, long was its woe.

* * * *

In fair order round the banquet they feasted together ;
Wine, mead, and mirth they enjoyed.

The ingenious Mr. Davies has, of course, his own peculiar theory on the subject of the Gododin. It does not refer, he insists, to the battle of Cattraeth at all, but to the fabled massacre of the British nobles by Hengist at Stonehenge. Without pausing to examine the very suspicious testimony in favour of the almost incredible story related by Nennius and idly adopted by succeeding writers, it may suffice to remark that Aneurin himself could hardly have been present at a scene, which, if it ever occurred, must have taken place before he was born. Nevertheless we are informed that Gododin is not, in this instance, the name of a district, but a compound word signifying "an uncovered temple," and consequently Stonehenge, while Cattraeth is a corruption of Cadeiriaith, which, being interpreted, signifieth the Language of the Chair of Presidency. Having enunciated this theory, Mr. Davies proceeds to prove its correctness by translating the poem after his own fashion—but it is useless to waste further time and space upon such elaborate fooling. The poem of Gododin obtained for its author the epithet of Mychdeyrn or Mederyn Beirdd, that is, the Monarch of Bards. Welsh scholars all agree in extolling its extraordinary merit—they disagree only as to its meaning. Not one of them hesitates to style Aneurin, "Gwawdrudd," or him of the "Flowing Muse"—but no two coincide in the rendering of his now obsolete diction.

A poem in a different style, designated "The Odes of the Months" has also been set down to Aneurin. The ode to October may be accepted as a fair example :—

"Penetrable is the shelter ; yellow the tops of the birch ; solitary the summer dwelling ; full of fat the birds and the fish ; less and less the milk of the Cow and the Goat. Alas to him who merits disgrace by sin ! Death is better than frequent extravagance. Three things should follow every crime—fasting, prayer, and charity."

It is now time to revert to the question of the assumed identity of the poet Aneurin with the historian Gildas. It may at once be conceded that Aneurin was not the author of the doleful Jeremiad, "*De Excidio Britanniae*," nor of the epistle usually annexed to that harsh and stilted effusion of spleen. But it is not equally certain that he did not compose the history so highly praised by early chroniclers, but of which not a fragment has been preserved. The Rev. Peter Roberts, indeed, suggests that the true history may have been suppressed by the Romish priests

so far as it lay in their power to do so, and the "De Excidio" substituted in its place. The style of the latter work certainly does not merit the eulogy pronounced by Lilius Gyraldus, librarian to Pico de Mirandola, who praises the "wonderfully easy style" of Gildas, a British poet, whose elegies he had read. William of Malmesbury, also, has a good word to say for the ancient British historian:—"Gildas," he writes, "neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiæ inter cæteras gentes habent." Mr. Roberts further draws attention to the fact that the only Briton who is mentioned with commendation in the "De Excidio" is Aurelianus Ambrosius, and then coupled with the remark that he was "forte Romanæ gentis." It must not be forgotten that at that time the British Bishops held themselves independent of the See of Rome. In their eyes the chief of the Apostles was not St. Peter, but St. John, neither did they pray to saints or martyrs, while the veneration of the cross was regarded by them as an act of idolatry. The monks, however, looked to Rome as their fountain-head, and were ever striving to exalt her grandeur and supremacy at the cost of the independence of their native land. Gildas himself calls Latin his native tongue, and almost invariably misinterprets the meaning of British names. He asserts, too, that there were no native materials for a history of Britain beyond oral traditions, whereas Nennius expressly states in his preface that he had derived his information "partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monumentis veterum Britannicæ incolarum." True, in the apology prefixed to the preface, he is made to contradict himself by the assertion that "nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt," but there are strong grounds for suspecting that Nennius has been scarcely less tampered with than the genuine Gildas. It is not impossible that Mr. Roberts may have alighted upon the key to the mystery in his ingenious suggestion that the first six books of the manuscript brought over from Brittany by Walter Calenius, and translated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the real history written by that ancient bard, and which would account for the application of the epithet "Sapiens" to Gildas in his "Vita Merlini."

For the rest, Aneurin is said to have been treacherously murdered—a crime accounted among the "three accursed deeds of the island of Britain." It is also placed among the "three accursed blows of the battle-axe." Nennius, it is worth observing, makes no mention of Gildas in his allusion to the illustrious men of Arthur's times: Though he has space to enumerate among them Talhalarn, of whom only two brief fragments remain; Cian, surnamed Gweinchaunt or Gwyngwn,

Taliesin, Llywarch, and Aneurin, he entirely passes over the name of Gildas. If this were simply the monastic appellation of the bard of Gododin, the omission would be natural enough, but otherwise it is difficult to account for his ignoring one who, in the opinion of Lilius Gyraldus, was both a charming poet and a readable historian.

Of the state of society in those times, but little information can be gathered from this brotherhood of bards. The battle and the banquet alone inspire their monotonous muse. Not a line is devoted to love, or to the delineation of female beauty. Swift steeds, and ashen spears, the sparkling mead, and loquacious warriors, constitute the chief topics of their song. Llywarch, indeed, sympathises with the sisterly grief of Eurddyll, bewailing her heroic brother Urien, and Merddin is soothed by his twin-sister Gwendydd, whose son he had slain in the confusion of the mêlée, but these exceptions fail to disprove the conclusion that women occupied a very humble position in the social system of the ancient Britons. A somewhat higher degree of civilization may have prevailed in the southern and midland parts of the island where the softening influences of the Roman occupation had left a more lasting impression than on sea-coasts invaded by Saxon pirates, or on the Northern Borders, harassed by the Picts and Scots. Gradually, however, the foreign barbarians advanced from point to point, after overcoming the fierce opposition they encountered in the maritime regions. Arthur's death at Camlan, and the terrible slaughter of the British on that decisive day, placed the Western and South-Western districts at the mercy of the invaders. The Midland states appear to have submitted, almost without striking a blow in assertion of their independence, but in the mountains of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the Borderlands of Scotland, the ancient inhabitants maintained the unequal struggle through long years of anarchy, until the death of Urien and his gallant son Owain left them without leaders. The internal dissensions of the numerous petty chieftains who ruled each in his little isolated principality, without the faintest idea of patriotism, hastened on the work of subjugation more rapidly and completely than if thrice the number of Angles, Jutes, and Saxons had landed on the shores of the island. To conclude, in the words of the historian of Monmouthshire, "it may be imagined that a declining nation, divided into little communities just emerging from pastoral life governed by hunters, and distracted and enervated by visions of magic and superstition, was attacked under numerous disadvantages by a military people having simple and effectual institutions, though much inferior in many of the arts of peace."

JAMES HUTTON.

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN OPIUM REVENUE.

THE policy of the Government of India with reference to the supply of opium grown in India and exported to meet the demand of consumers of the drug in China, may be briefly described.

India sends as much opium to China as the Chinese will take, and the Government of India derives as much profit as possible from the transaction.

There are two sources of supply in India, *viz.*:—Opium grown in British India—in districts where the land is under the direct control of the Government; and opium grown in Native States within the territories of native chiefs; and the method of deriving revenue from the export of opium from India differs according to the locality in which it is grown. The Government monopolises the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in British territory, deriving revenue from the sale of fixed quantities of the drug, at a profit on the cost of production, while the opium grown in Native States is subjected to an exportation tax of Rs. 600 per chest, the growth, manufacture and quantity, as well as quality of the drug exported being subject to no interference on the part of Government.

In British territory where opium is grown under management, the drug is purchased from the cultivators in its raw state at a fixed rate of Rs. 5 per seer (2lbs.) It is then made up into balls and packed in chests, each chest containing 1 maund, 28 seers, and 2 chittacks of opium, or about 140lbs. The Government announces the number of chests it is intended to sell during the year, and auction sales are held accordingly at fixed periods. The annual average number of chests thus sold for the last 10 years is about 46,000, and the average price per chest sold by auction may be taken at Rs. 1,400. The cost to Government of each chest is about Rs. 400, so that the profit by the sale is fairly estimated at £100 for every chest sold, or a nett revenue, in round numbers, of four million sterling.

The details of the working of this system, the manner of sowing and growing the plant, of purchasing, manufacturing, and selling the drug, are all duly set forth in published statistics and reports made by various Opium Agents to the heads of their department. There is no secret about the ways and means of deriving profit out of Bengal opium.* The results of the year's crop, the number of chests exported, the price obtained at periodical sales, are all stated, with methodical precision in Gazettes, Reports, and Statistics of the districts concerned in the opium trade, so that it is not intended to notice here with

further detail the system prevailing in Bengal for realizing revenue by the sale and export of opium. Malwa opium is more of a sealed book, few are aware of the different interests that are concerned in its production and trade. It may therefore be worth while to consider this item of revenue as distinct from its counterpart in Bengal, before remarking upon the results of a combination of two systems so utterly dissimilar in application yet working in harmony and depending one upon the other for the production of such an important addition to the revenue of the country.

The opium grown in Native States is known generally as Malwa opium, by far the greater portion of it being produced in the territories of the Maharajahs Sindia and Holkar and other chiefs of the Central India Agency. A considerable quantity is also grown in Oodeypore and some of the states of Rajpootana bordering on Malwa, but the whole produce of this part of the country is brought to one or other of the Government scales established at Oodeypore, Rutlam, Oojein, Dhar, or Indore, where it is weighed and a pass duty of Rs. 600 per chest levied, before the opium leaves Malwa for Bombay. Opium grown in the territory of the Gaikwar of Baroda is in the same manner brought to the scales at Ahmedabad and thence transmitted to Bombay, the average annual number of chests weighed at Ahmedabad being about 1,200. The returns of weighments made at Ahmedabad, Oodeypore, Rutlam, Oojein, Dhar, and Indore, are included in the Malwa Opium Agency, and all these offices are under the direct supervision of the Opium Agent in Malwa.

Published returns show the following numbers of chests exported to China from the Malwa Opium Agency on payment of the pass duty of Rs. 600, during the last ten years :—

			No. of Chests.	Duty paid @ Rs. 600 per Chest.
1866-67	...	...	29,260	Rs. 1,75,56,000
1867-68	...	...	36,101	„ 2,16,60,600
1868-69	...	...	29,787	„ 1,78,72,200
1869-70	...	...	35,828	„ 2,14,96,800
1870-71	...	...	37,608	„ 2,25,64,800
1871-72	...	...	37,591	„ 2,25,54,600
1872-73	...	...	42,688	„ 2,56,12,800
1873-74	...	...	42,112	„ 2,52,67,200
1874-75	...	...	47,982	„ 2,87,89,200
1875-76	...	...	38,753	„ 2,32,51,800
Total			<u>3,77,710</u>	<u>„ 22,66,26,000</u>

It will be seen that on an average the revenue from Malwa opium is about 2½ million sterling, and this, added to the four millions of revenue procured by sale of Bengal opium, gives a total average annual revenue of 6½ millions.

This is borne out by the marginal statement copied from the last Budget Estimate which gives the actual nett receipts for the past eight years.

1868-69	... £	6,731,000
1869-70	... „	6,131,000
1870-71	... „	6,032,000
1871-72	... „	7,657,000
1872-73	... „	6,871,000
1873-74	... „	6,324,000
1874-75	... „	6,215,000
1875-76	... „	6,233,000

In Malwa, opium cultivation is very popular, and notwithstanding that the trade is treacherous, prices fluctuating and the demand varying, the costly preparations made for supply, the

allurement of the chances of large profits easily turned, and the stimulus given to the trade by the spirit of speculation and gambling (always strong in the native mind), are so great, that if the monopoly of the Government of India was withdrawn, it is probable the the Native States would increase the cultivation to an extent sufficient to meet the deficiency caused by the cessation of the supply from Bengal.

The sharers in the profits in Native States are many, and each is interested in the extension of the trade. The native chief who takes a high rent for opium land is the first concerned. Rents in Central India for irrigated land vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 30 per beegah, while land under wheat and other food grains only brings in from 12 annas to Rs. 2, or at the most Rs. 3 per beegah; this is one of the greatest results of opium cultivation in Native States. The chief source of revenue to a native chief is his land. In Malwa, which includes the territories of the Maharajahs Sindia, Holkar and many other chiefs, opium has been the principal cause of the increase of revenue.

Holkar's land revenue of 55 lacs (£550,000), would soon revert to its old standard of 20 lacs, were it not for the rents he takes on opium land, and the same remark applies equally to Sindia, whose rent-roll of 100 lacs (one million sterling), would be enormously reduced were opium cultivation to cease; the enhanced rents levied on opium land would be thus altogether curtailed, and all native chiefs, big or small, holding land now under opium cultivation, would suffer in similar proportion—the ruin of many would be the result.

Again Holkar, Sindia, and other chiefs, derive a further benefit from opium in addition to the profits secured by increased valuation of land, in the shape of a tax taken on all opium leaving their territories. Sindia takes Rs. 24 on every chest as an export duty from Gwalior territory. Holkar, at Indore, takes Rs. 12½

so that to these chiefs the cultivation of opium involves the most serious questions of revenue. Sindia and Holkar, the chief gainers by the growth of the Poppy, may be said to have enlarged their revenues at least 50 per cent., owing entirely to the climate and soil of their holdings being favourable to the production of opium.

The costs and profits of the cultivator in Native States territory are difficult to estimate. Sir John Malcolm, in his Memoir of Central India, volume II, page 359, Appendix No. VII, gives the following table showing the expenses, &c. of cultivating one beegah of opium, in a good, a tolerable, and a bad season:—

<i>Expenses.</i>				Rs.	As.	P.
5 Seers of Opium Seed	...	...	...	0	9	0
Manure, including conveyance	...	...	...	2	0	0
Expenses of watching the crop	...	...	...	4	0	0
Weeding, Ploughing, Sowing, &c.	...	...	...	6	0	0
Gathering the Opium	...	...	...	4	0	0
Watering the Field	...	...	...	6	0	0
Oil for mixing with the juice of the Poppy	...	...	...	1	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	6	0	0
Total				29	9	0

Receipts in a good season.

	Rs.	A.	P.
5 Seers of Opium	40	0	0
Sale of Seed, 3 Maunds	4	0	0
	44	0	0
Deduct expenses	29	9	0
	14	7	0
Deduct village dues	1	8	0
Nett profit to cultivator	12	15	0

Receipts in a tolerable season.

7½ Seers of Opium	30	0	0
Sale of Seed	2	11	0
	32	11	0
Deduct expenses	31	1	0
Nett profit to cultivator	1	10	0

Receipts in a bad season.

5 Seers Opium	20	0	0
Seed sold	2	0	0
Loss to cultivator	9	1	0
	31	1	0

But since the period of which Sir John Malcolm wrote, opium cultivation is more thoroughly understood and the value of the drug has increased as has also the cost of cultivation. The average profits now realized on a beegah of opium land may be calculated at Rs. 20 in a good year; this may be increased to Rs. 25 or Rs. 30, while in a bad year only Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 can be made out of the same quantity of land.

The rent of opium land in Malwa varies so much, and there are such great differences in the means which cultivators have at their disposal, that it is impossible to estimate accurately the average profits from cultivation. For instance, one man may have to pay only Rs. 5 rent for a beegah of opium land, another for the same area pays Rs. 20;—the rents varying according to the rules in force in different Native States,—the rules or system of revenue collection varying again according to the taste or idiosyncrasy of the chief. Then, too, one man may have to dig a well, which from the fact of the water being far from the surface and only to be got by blasting through several feet of rock, will cost him as much as Rs. 1,000; while another more fortunate in his selection of a site will make an equally good well for Rs. 300 or Rs. 400, finding water within a few feet of the surface, and the soil easy of penetration. Great differences exist also in the means of labour at the disposal of cultivators. A man with a large family can look for larger returns at less cost than one who has to hire labour throughout the operations necessary for the growth of the opium crop.

There is another crop always obtainable from opium land. The opium is only in the ground for 4 or 5 months, i.e., during December, January, February, and March, the same land is used during the rainy season—June, July, August, September and October for the production of a crop of *mukka* (Indian Corn) which grows readily in the manured soil of old opium fields, gives little or no trouble in cultivation, and is very remunerative. A maunee of *mukka*, or 480lbs. of grain, is an average outturn for a beegah of opium land, and will sell for Rs. 12 or Rs. 15, and the profits of this crop, generally about Rs. 10 or 12, must be set down to the credit of the year's transactions in addition to the profits secured by the opium.

It may be well to note the manner, in which Malwa opium is grown, as exemplifying the amount of capital that has first to be laid out, the labour and cost incurred by the cultivator and the advantages as well as the risks of the crop; and it is in these questions of cultivation, rent, profit and loss, that the difference between the cultivator in British territory and his brother in

Malwa is most marked. One has everything found him ; land and capital to him are matters of no consideration ; his own labour is alone called for to produce his wealth, ; he is invited, urged and encouraged to grow opium on allotted ground ; he is entitled to advances of money to meet his requirements, and he is assured of a fixed price for the raw material produced. The other has everything on his head—the outlay for well, bullocks, implements and manure—the expenses of cultivation, the chances of climate as effecting the growth of the crop, and the fluctuations in the value of the outturn. The district of Malwa, where the country is from 1,300 to 2,000 feet above the level of the sea,—soil rich, temperature moderate, and water plentiful, is particularly favourable to the cultivation of opium. The land prepared is generally the thick, black loam known as cotton soil, it must be situated in close proximity to a well, or to the bund (or dam) of a tank, or river, as the greatest essential to the crop is a regular and sufficient supply of water at fixed periods. High ground, commanded by a supply of water and having a gradual slope on all sides, is the most favourable position for opium culture. As soon as the rain crops have been gathered, and when the cold weather, which generally commences in November, is at hand, operations are commenced. The ground is first ploughed four times, if possible on four successive days—it is then harrowed, the heavy clods of earth lying on the surface being carefully broken and pulverized. Next, manure is applied, generally at the rate of from 10 to 12 cart loads an acre, the ground is divided into squares of about 10 or 12 feet, separated from each other by ridges of earth, the beds thus formed being in rows sloping from the rising ground whence comes the water supply. Channels are then dug to enable the water drawn from the well to run into and flood each of the square beds. These are so arranged that the cultivator can divert the course of the water from one row of beds to the next, by making or closing temporary openings in the channel. When all these preliminaries are arranged, the ground is flooded, and on the next day the opium seed is sown, scattered thickly over the prepared surface. Another inundation follows on the day after the sowing, and again seven or eight days afterwards. The crop generally appears on the 8th or 10th day after the seed is sown. The first growth is thick and vigorous. When the plants have grown to the height of six or seven inches, and are thick with leaves, the beds are weeded, and at least one-half or sometimes as much as two-thirds of the young plants are pulled out and thrown away. The strongest and healthiest only being left to grow to better size in the extra room thus made for them.

After this the earth round the remaining plants is loosened to allow of their free growth. A fortnight later another watering is

given, and again in a week more, by which time the plants are well grown, and the buds of the flower forming. When the flower opens no more water is given; the flower drops off in a day or two, and the capsule remaining on the stalk gradually swells until it has attained its full growth. The crop is then ready and the process of extracting the milky juice from the capsule commences.

Each poppy-head or capsule is bled by means of an instrument like a three-pronged fork, the incisions pierce the outside coat of the capsule only sufficiently to allow the juice to exude slowly. Each poppy-head is thus bled three separate times; the incisions are generally made in the afternoon, and the juice which exudes is collected the following morning. Only a small quantity is obtained from the incisions in each of the poppy-heads, and this portion of the process is the most tedious. One man working with the scraper from 7 to 10 A.M. (the best time of the day for collecting the opium), will with difficulty get together 3 or 4 ounces of *chick* (as the exuded juice is called). When it is remembered that each poppy-head has to be bled three times and scraped as often, it can be conceived that this method of collecting the opium juice entails a vast amount of labour. The juice taken off the capsules is collected and thrown into earthen vessels where it is mixed with linseed-oil (in the proportion of two parts of oil to one of *chick*) to prevent evaporation.

Here the cultivator's interest in the opium ceases. He sells the *chick* to the Bunniah at the rate of from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 per seer. The conditions most favourable to the growth of opium are clear, warm, sunny days with little wind; and cool, dewy nights. Rain always injures the crop, beating down the young plants and damaging the heads. Frost, which is not at all exceptional in Malwa during the cold months, destroys the plant in one night, if it has not grown strong enough to resist the cold; and when the capsule is ripe for incision, rain causes the juice to dry,—cloudy weather prevents it exuding, and strong winds injure by causing the pods or capsules to knock one against the other.

In spite of all that is said against the cultivation of opium, there are yet some points which may be urged, if not in its favour, at any rate as apologies for its existence. Opium is one of the best crops for the cultivator;—the returns from it are large and quickly made, and the land, after the opium crop is removed, is available for another (cereal) crop during the year. The wells that have been sunk consequent on the increased attention to the cultivation of opium, have greatly improved the condition of the country. Wells ensure safety from the

results of bad seasons, and improve the appliances for agriculture of the people of the country, besides bettering the sanitary condition of villages. In India the value of water cannot be over-estimated, and the wells, tanks, and dams built originally in the cause of opium have proved beneficial in many other ways.

Sugar-cane is grown in large quantities in land precisely similar in its conditions to that best adapted for opium; and it is noteworthy, that where opium is most grown, there also sugar-cane will be found in the greatest quantities. Frequently the two are to be seen maturing side by side, and under the care and culture of the same peasant, and supposing that the trade in opium were suddenly to collapse, an event frequently and strenuously predicted by financial alarmists, however heavily the blow might fall on Government, in places where it has assumed the monopoly of the trade, it is satisfactory to think that the cultivator at least would not be a heavy loser, for after the shock caused by the depreciation of opium, and the consequent loss to him on one year's crop, he would still have water and a prepared soil to his hand for the growth, in the following season, of an equally profitable crop. In Malwa sugar-cane and opium are the only crops for which the land is manured, the black soil is so rich as to be able to produce the usual cereal crops of the country for 30 successive years without deterioration.

The Bunniah, or local dealer, having purchased the *chick* from the cultivator, prepares it for market. It is tied up in lumps of from 25lbs. to 50lbs. in weight, and hung in double bags of sheeting cloth in a closed and dark room, so as to avoid air and light; while the spare linseed-oil with which the *chick* is mixed, is allowed to drop through. The bags are allowed to remain suspended for a month or six weeks, during which period all the oil that can be separated comes away; they are then taken down and their contents emptied into large vats from 10 to 15 feet in diameter. In these the opium is mixed together and worked up with the hand, until having acquired an uniform color and consistence throughout, it becomes tough and capable of being formed into masses. It is then rolled into balls weighing about 10oz. or 12oz. each; these being thrown as they are formed into baskets full of the chaff of the seed pods and dried opium leaves, in course of time harden until firm enough to admit of being packed. The opium is now ready for market, and is sold by the *dhurrie*, i. e., 5 seers (10lbs.). The average price per *dhurrie* in Malwa is from Rs. 40 to Rs. 70, varying in relation to the existing price in China. This simple process of manufacture contrasts with the costly preparations of the drug in Bengal. The difference is by no means marked when the Bengal and Malwa opium meet

in the China market; the demand for one is as great as for the other, and for purity, strength and flavour Malwa opium, made as it is in the most primitive and simple fashion, holds its own in spite of the extra care and expense devoted to the manipulation of the Bengal drug. The fact is that Malwa opium depends entirely upon its purity, and the merchants knowing this, are careful that the trade is kept up to the mark, so that no adulterated opium is ever sent from Malwa to China.

The opium purchased by merchants from the local manufacturers is kept stored in chests containing about the amount on which duty is charged, i. e., 140lbs. 4oz., and as advices are received from Bombay of the demand for the drug, is brought to the scales where it is weighed, and the duty per chest collected by Government officers.

The method of weighing opium and collecting the duty is as follows:—

The merchant presents a memorandum showing the number of chests he wishes to send to Bombay, at the same time he gives to the office of collection, *hoondees*, or bills payable at sight, in Bombay for the whole number of chests he wishes to despatch. The chests are received, and after being counted and numbered, a proportion of 10 per cent. of the whole consignment is selected at hazard, and the contents of these are weighed, their actual weight being the standard by which the average of the whole consignment is estimated. In illustration of this,—a merchant wishes to send 100 chests from Indore to Bombay for export to China. He first gives a memorandum showing the number of chests he has to send (100), accompanied by *hoondees* on stamped paper for Rs. 60,000 (at Rs. 600 per chest). The chests are then received into the Government godown or weighing-house, where each chest is numbered from 1 to 100. The officer in charge of the office selects 10 chests (say Nos. 42 to 51), which are opened in his presence and carefully weighed. At 140lbs. 4oz. (the amount allowed for each chest) the proper weight of these ten chests is 1,402½lbs., but on weighment we will suppose they are found to aggregate 1,407½lbs., or 5lbs. more than the allowance. The average for the whole consignment is calculated on this basis, and 50lbs. are withdrawn from one of the chests weighed, the opium returned to its owner, but is not allowed to be included in the consignment. In the same way, if the actual weight of the ten selected chests is less than the amount allowed, the merchant is permitted to make good the deficiency in similar proportions. The object being to obtain an average throughout the consignment of 140lbs. 4oz. per chest.

The cost of collecting revenue from opium in British India has been estimated at two millions sterling yearly, the return

shown being only of net revenue. Of the duty levied on Malwa opium the whole may be considered net revenue. The annual cost of collection is about Rs. 14,580, and on the 38,753 chests which passed the scales during 1875-76, the stamp duty on the *hoondees* alone realized Rs. 15,040.

The action of Government in monopolizing so large a portion of India's supply of opium to meet the demands of China is open to remark. China can only consume a certain amount of opium in the year, and when Government appropriates to itself the right of providing two-thirds of that supply, it naturally represses the export of opium grown in Native States; for the amount Malwa sends to China must be regulated by the demands of China, less the supply which the Government of India determines to make, and so, while the revenue from British opium is tolerably certain, the Malwa contribution is fluctuating and dependent on the changing demand in China.

The remedy for this would be to abolish the Government monopoly, and so place the export duty on all opium from India on the footing of a regulated pass fee per chest. But here arises a difficulty. Taking the total number of chests supplied to China as 83,000, of which Government supplies 48,000, at a net profit of £100 per chest, and Native States 35,000 on the payment of Rs. 600 per chest, the total revenue realized is £6,900,000; but assuming that 83,000 chests is the limit of the demand of China, it is obvious that by fixing the system throughout India on the pass duty of Rs. 600 per chest, Government would be a loser to the amount of £1,920,000, or at the rate of £40 per chest on the opium grown in British territory. So that to ensure Government against a severe loss of revenue, an increase in the standard of pass duty would be necessary. Supposing the rate to be raised from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 per chest throughout India (the monopoly being abolished, and the number of chests supplied to China continuing at 83,000), the revenue would be £5,810,000, still considerably less than the duty now collected.

The question depends upon the price of opium in China, and the following table shows how this varies:—

During 1869 the price per chest was from 615 Dollars, the lowest quotation (in August), to 727 Dollars, the highest (in March).

In 1870 the price varied from 627½ Dollars (in April), to 680 Dollars (in August and September).

In 1871 from 622 Dollars (in January), to 675 Dollars (in September).

In 1872 from 565 Dollars (in December), to 630 Dollars (in January and February).

In 1873 from 550 Dollars (in January), to 600 Dollars (in March and May).

In 1874 from 595 Dollars (in February), to 620 Dollars (in January).

In 1875 from 540 Dollars (in January), to 605 Dollars (in October).

So that it would be rash to calculate on any average greater than 600 Dollars per chest as a continuance ; or taking the China Dollar at Rs. 2-4-0 the price in China at 600 Dollars per chest would be Rs. 1,350.

It has been shown that a chest of British Indian opium costs Government, when brought to auction at Calcutta, Rs. 400, and adding to this Rs. 700 duty and Rs. 100 freight and insurance to China, there would still be, a profit of Rs. 150 to the seller in China or a little more than 11 per cent.

But this concerns opium manufactured within easy access by rail of the port of exportation. It is easy to understand that opium grown in the wilds of Malwa, carted through many miles of country (taxed by each Native State through which it passes), through Indore to the rail, and so on to Bombay, would not pay either the merchant or the cultivator at this rate.

Again if the monopoly were to be gradually relinquished and the pass duty gradually raised, the change should be commenced when the price of opium in China is showing a tendency to rise, whereas the experience of the past four or five years shows, that the increase in the supply of opium has so far satisfied the demand as to materially depreciate the drug in China.

Much may be said of the quantity of opium grown in China itself, and though the quality is known to be inferior to that grown in India, still the cultivation of the plant, in whatever degree it is carried on, must affect the quantity required from external sources. However the question is viewed, it appears that under existing circumstances, India cannot alter her opium policy without causing such an injury to her financial position, as she could by no means afford to bear. Of the probabilities of what might have been, had the system been different from the first, it is useless to speak. Doubtless if the Government of India had originated its system of export duty on opium, by a regulated tax on every chest that left the country, independent of the territory in which it was produced, the opium revenue might have been as large as it now is, and the Government would certainly have held a more dignified position as regards its interest in the trade ; for the encouragement of the growth of a plant which is valueless except as producing an intoxicating drug, the efforts that have to be made, sometimes at the cost of large

sums of money spent in advances held out as a tempting bait to cultivators, to increase the amount of cultivation or to retain it to the extent which it is considered will be sufficient to meet requirements, and the imputation that India trims the opium market in China, and forces a vice upon the Chinese, are all matters of which the administration of India would be relieved with advantage. The present action of Government naturally stimulates the growth and export of opium. Under a regulated system of pass duty this would be changed; the imposition of a heavy tax on the opium sent to China would have at least the appearance of a repression rather than an encouragement of the trade.

The effect of a limit on the area of poppy culture in British territory has been to make the Native States of Malwa (Gwalior, Indore, Oodeypore, Rutlam, Jowra, Jhallawar and Banswarra) gardens of wealth. It has changed the scanty subsistence of petty chiefs, Thakoors and Zemindars into large incomes. Every villager now has his plot of opium ground, of which, with high cultivation and three months' labour, the produce is sufficient to maintain his family for the season. The soil, which in British India, where the growth of the poppy is prohibited, lets at Rs. 2 a beegah, in the territories of Sindia and Holkar, commands from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The land revenue of these Native States is entirely dependent on opium. If the Government of India abolished its monopoly and allowed the poppy the same freedom as wheat or grain, there would be a crash in the revenues of the great chiefs. The opium produced in Bengal, even now stands in higher estimation in China than the Malwa grown opium. Free cultivation there or the withdrawal of Government interference, would tend to press Malwa hard, and at once bring the land rental to the average of that in British India. The competition that as a natural consequence would ensue, would, for some time to come, paralyse the chiefs and people of Native States.

In Malwa as things are, opium makes the land 12 or 15 times more valuable than it would be for other produce, and irrespective of the revenue which chiefs derive from opium-bearing land, they realize an excise on the drug, after manufacture and before it reaches British ground, varying from 12 to 25 per cent. on its value. Any radical change in a system which produces such results would shake the prosperity of India.

One of the chief results to India of the opium policy, is the increase in the amount of land under opium cultivation, both in British territory and in Native States. In 1865 the area of land in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces devoted to the growth of the poppy was 434,515 acres. In 1872 it had

extended to 557,067 acres, being an increase of 122,552 acres in 7 years. In 1868 Government determined to limit the total area of land for opium cultivation to 790,500 beegahs (or 494,062 acres), the extent at that time under opium being 762,989 beegahs (or 27,511 beegahs less); but the returns of 1872 show, that in that year 63,005 acres or 100,804 beegahs beyond the limit which Government had assigned itself in 1868 were appropriated for opium.

These statistics prove not only that a large quantity of land is under opium cultivation, but also that the area taken up, has year by year, greatly increased in spite of decrees to the contrary. No precise estimate can be formed of the area of land in Native States under poppy, but taking the yearly yield of opium at the rate of the number of chests exported, assuming that the average number of chests is 35,000, and that the average yield per beegah is 9 seers (each chest containing 70 seers or 140lbs.), we have 305,000 beegahs, or 190,625 acres as the area under opium, that is about one-third of the total (557,067 acres) area of land in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces devoted to this purpose. The total area of poppy cultivation in India under this calculation is 747,692 acres. A very large quantity of Malwa opium is consumed in India, and it is generally the case that of one year's out-turn little more than half is exported, so that although the exported opium is produced from the cultivation of 747,692 acres, the whole area of land in India assigned for the crop is unquestionably larger. But this is a matter of internal economy, and can hardly be considered a result of the policy of the export of opium.

It occurs to any one who studies the question of the food-supply of India, that so large an area being devoted to the growth of a noxious drug, to the exclusion of food-grain, must cause an increase to the price of food; and it is a fact that prices have risen greatly during the last 10 or 12 years, not so much in the British territory of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, but to a great extent in the Native States of Central India where Malwa opium has become the chief object of cultivation. But there are other causes besides the increased cultivation of opium which may be assigned for the rise in prices; and defenders of the trade may with justice accuse cotton of doing as much damage to the out-turn of food-grains in India as opium,—for a larger area is sown with cotton than with the poppy.

Of the profit to all in India concerned in the trade there can be no doubt. In British India the cultivators profit by the growth, the rate at which Government purchases the raw opium from them (Rs. 5 per seer), gives a considerable balance beyond the cost of production, and the readiness with which

cultivators have taken up the large area of land now covered with the poppy, proves that to them at any rate, the crop is popular and remunerative. The system instituted by Government of advancing money at easy rates is tempting, and accounts in some measure for the readiness with which the cultivation has been extended. The supervision of the growth and manufacture of the drug affords employment to a large number of men; and the fact that, on an average, 2 millions sterling are annually expended in the collection of the net revenue derived from British opium, shows how much is distributed among all classes by the crop, its collection, manufacture, and export.

The result to China of the British opium policy is the increased amount of the drug which is year by year sent from India to supply the wants of the Chinese.

Dr. Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India* contains the following :—

“China cannot be said to have indulged long in the vice of opium-eating or smoking. All the early writers on that country are silent as to its use except in medicine. During the reign of the Emperor Kein Ling, who reigned from 1738 to 1796, a tariff was regularly established, and the duty fixed at 3 Taels for 100 Catties, and 2 Taels, 4 Maie, and 5 Candarines for fees. Previous to 1767 the number of chests imported did not exceed 200 yearly. In 1773 the East India Company made their first venture in opium, and in 1796 it was declared a crime to smoke opium.

Since then in spite of pains and penalties, edicts and warnings, the consumption increased until in 1837 it had reached the enormous extent of 40,000 chests, valued at 25 millions of Dollars.”

Since 1837 the amount of opium supplied by India to China has been more than doubled. The yearly average may now be computed as between 80,000 and 90,000 chests, or at the rate of 140lbs. per chest, in round numbers 12 million pounds of opium.

The use of opium in India has grown very general, the abuse of it has been practised for many years by the natives of Rajpootana as well as Assam, yet the deleterious results of the drug are by no means marked. The race of natives has not deteriorated, and it is an admitted fact that Rajpoots and Sikhs who have, in the history of India, proved themselves the best men of the country, are descended from a long line of opium-eaters. And though it may be well urged that the Chinese would be better without opium, it may be said on the other hand, “it has not done them much harm as yet, and we have tried their capabilities of consumption to the best of our ability during the last 30 or 40 years.”

Every country probably has its national vice, and China may say, when twitted with the fact, that she supplies one-seventh of the revenue of the Government of India by her demand for an intoxicating drug, that she has not yet reached the standard of vice attained by the nation which, in one year, contrived to drink

itself clear of the sum awarded to America by the Geneva Arbitration.

As regards the charge against opium, that it is an incentive to crime, Sir Benjamin Brodie writes:—

“The effect of opium when taken into the stomach, is not to “stimulate but to soothe the nervous system.” A man under the effect of an over-dose of opium is useless, and unable to exert either his physical or mental powers, but he is not mischievous, and is less liable to commit violent crime than a man inflamed with drink.

To summarise briefly:—India supplies China with an intoxicating drug, and is urged thereto by the fact that a large revenue is derived by the export of opium from India to China.

The growth of opium receives encouragement and support from the Government of India in certain Provinces where the monopoly of the trade remains in the hands of Government. The objection taken to this means of collecting revenue as compared with the system of a regulated pass duty adopted in another portion of India, is valid, but if the system were changed, the quantity of opium sent to China would probably remain the same, Government being a loser to the extent of about £40 on every chest exported from British territory. The cultivation of opium has not seriously injured the agricultural prospects of the country, and there is a great deal to be said of the advantages gained from the growth of the crop, by those who have the best right to the interests of the land. The Chinese consume opium to a great extent, the use of the drug is general both in India and in China; the abuse of it is rare in both countries, and the results far from alarming, while as a source of revenue to India, the tax on opium though subject to great fluctuation, and consequently a precarious item of Budget Estimate, has proved itself a substantial aid, increasing year by year in power. It supplies her with nearly one-seventh of her revenue and saves the people from taxation to the amount of more than six millions sterling.

When Mr. Pease, M. P. advertised in nearly all the newspapers at home and abroad his offer of prizes of £200 and £100 for the best and second best Essays on British Opium Policy and its results to India and China, he would have been more just to those whom he invited to expend time and tissue in committing to paper their thoughts on the subject, and he would have saved the three adjudicators appointed by him to test the value of the Essays submitted, much weary plodding through reams of manuscript, had he added to his advertisement a note to the effect: that—Nothing but an attack upon the present policy, would be regarded “as qualifying for

“either prize.” The result of the adjudication showed that a denunciation of the policy was really all that was wanted. Writers under the *noms de plume* of *Let Providence Provide* and *Fiat Justitia* gained the prizes, and those who submitted Essays not entirely in the spirit which Mr. Pease wished to invoke, had the satisfaction of learning, after nearly two years of waiting for the result of the adjudication, that the writer of the Essay which gained the first prize was a gentleman connected with Colonial Emigration, and that the Reverend gentleman whose labours had gained the second prize was the Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Let Providence Provide! what could have been the song sung to this tune? Was it a request that Providence would provide opium for the Chinese, or a supplication that the same power would contribute 6½ millions sterling every year to the revenues of the Government of India?

The common-sense view of the question at any rate embraces both of these considerations, and does not admit of maudlin sentiment alone. Let principles of right and wrong be duly weighed, but at the same time let not facts be overlooked; if it is determined in the cause of philanthropy to condemn the export of opium from India to China, let it be at the same time arranged, in the cause of justice, to compensate those who would be more injured by the cessation of the trade, than the Chinese have been by its continuance during many years. Give the Government of India 6½ millions sterling annually, Mr. Pease, spend another couple of millions in compensating those who are now gaining a livelihood by the growth of the plant and the manufacture of the drug in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces; put your hands into your pockets for another yearly dole of 4 or 5 millions for like compensation to the Chiefs and people of Malwa, and then you will have right as well as reason on your side, when you next beseech Parliament to abolish the opium trade between India and China.

In the foregoing pages some of the material considerations of the question have been advanced, and attention has especially been drawn to the results to Malwa of the growth of the poppy and the trade in opium. It should not be forgotten that among the many obligations of the Government of India, the rights and interests of Native States, their inhabitants and their rulers, demand a large share of attention. If there is delicate ground in India, it is to be found in territories ruled over by native Chiefs, whose relations with the Paramount Power are peculiar when they are not vague; and such questions as the abolition of a trade which affects Native States to the extent that Malwa is interested in opium, cannot be taken up and disposed of without the consideration

due to a measure which involves political as well as material rights. The opium revenue is derived from a trade which rightly or wrongly has been carried on with increasing vigour during the past 50 years: putting aside all reflections on the immense aid that has been afforded to the administration of the country by the revenue thus collected, and of the financial difficulties which would spring from the loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions in a Budget of 50 millions, we have still to consider the principles of justice which would be involved if native Chiefs found that the trade which had swelled their land revenues from small pittances to large incomes, was suddenly to collapse. The point for consideration is not only whether the Chinese would be better without opium—the trade has grown upon India, until like Sindbad's old man of the sea, it is impossible to shake it off. With resources stretched to their finest point, the expenditure is barely within receipts. A loss of $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions could only be met by Government, by a tax which, as experience has shown, is one of the most distasteful and unsatisfactory administrative measures that has ever been introduced into India. Much as we deplore the insatiable appetite of the Chinaman for the drug, and deeply as we regret the fact that we taught him to crave for it, we must not forget what the growth of poppy has done for Native States, and what the results of the past 50 years are to them.

When the Maharajas Sindia and Holkar produce sums of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling on 4 per cent. loan for Railway extensions in their territories, a tribute of thanks is certainly due to opium, for to opium the Chiefs owe their land revenue, which year by year has rapidly increased, and so enabled them to amass great wealth. A measure which would entail financial difficulty on the Government of India, would force financial ruin on Native States; and in addition to the other troubles which India would encounter, she would have to devise means for ridding herself of the spectacle of a group of native Chiefs dependent upon her for support, ruined by the cessation of a trade which has raised them from indigence to wealth, and which has for half a century been carried on with the support and encouragement of Government, with great advantage to India, and with no palpably evil results to China.

D. W. K. B.

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

1. *Resolution by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 1899 ; dated 22nd August 1873.*
2. *Notification by the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 223 ; dated 21st January 1874.*

WE still remember the surprise with which one day, long ago in England, we glanced through some article or pamphlet in which it was absolutely taken for granted that these Eastern subjects of ours, loving a foreign better than a native rule, would not for the world see the sovereignty over them pass from the glorious Company of Merchants trading with the East Indies to the grandest Maharaja or Shàhinsbà that ever washed the feet of Brahmans, or led the armies of Islam to victory. What an unnatural people ; what an extraordinary preference ; and what a very proper field for occupation does India in that case certainly present to a pious and moral nation like our own, were some of the reflections which the perusal of that essay suggested. And yet if the matter had been inquired into, it would soon have appeared that, even at the period in question, that is any time between five and twenty years and half a century ago, unbelievers were abroad who doubted whether the people of this country really cherished any such sentiments as those thus sometimes ascribed to them. Take, for example, the following, from the pen of one of the most amiable and philosophical observers who have ever made India their study, namely, Bishop Heber. The passage occurs in his Lordship's well-known "Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India," in 1824-25, (vol. i, pages 404-5), and was suggested by the anarchy and oppression which met his eye during his progress through the kingdom of Oudh :—

"I asked if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English government. Captain Lockett said that he had heard the same thing : but, on his way this year to Lucknow, and conversing, as his admirable knowledge of Hindustani enables him to do, familiarly with the *Sowars* who accompanied him, who spoke out, like all the rest of their countrymen, on the weakness of the king and the wickedness of the Government, he fairly put the question to them : when the Jamadar, joining his hands, said with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries, keep us from that." "Why so," said Captain Lockett, "are not our people far better governed?" "Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude, and the honour of our nation would be at an end." There are indeed many reasons why high-born and ambitious men must be exceedingly averse to our rule ; but the preceding expression of one in humble rank, savours of more national feeling and personal frankness than is

always met with in India. He was a soldier, however, and a Musalman, who spoke thus. A Hindu *raiat* might have answered differently, and it is possible that both accounts may be true : though this only can I vouch for as authentic."

The question handled by the good Bishop in the above sentences has subsequently exercised, as is well known, many another mind than his : and the steps which were taken by the Indian Government itself, about ten years ago, to have it discussed and if possible cleared up, must be fresh in the memory of many readers of this *Review*. Members of Council and heads of Local Governments and administrations had then an opportunity afforded to them of recording minutes about it to their hearts' content. And yet we do not know that any definite conclusions were deducible, or were ever deduced, at least from all that was then written. Not only was it the old story of the picture always being painted by the man, and never by the tiger ; but the subject to be brought out was, we rather think, obscured ; owing to the treatment bestowed upon it being allowed to drift at times out of its own proper channel or direction. Much forcible writing was expended in proving that the people of India, *si sua bona norint*, were bound to receive us as heaven-sent teachers and masters. But that, as a plain matter of fact, they actually did so, was not so fully ascertained. The question is not one which we intend dealing with in the present article, or on which we profess ourselves able to throw any clear light. We do not, indeed, see either the necessity or the advantage of indulging overmuch in disputations of this nature. Here we are because God has so willed it ; or, to put it differently, because Clive and others succeeded in effecting what all the enterprise of François Martin, and all the eminent qualities of Dupleix, had been unable to accomplish before them. Here too, we shall continue to rule and govern till our little part in India's history is played out. And if ever it be thought desirable that a plebiscite should be taken in regard to us, then, perhaps, the only real way to do it would be to send our European supports, horse, foot, and artillery, right-about face out of the country, under the stipulation that they would not be re-called. It would then soon become apparent whether they who wished to retain the numerous blessings of British rule, or they who would rather submit themselves to some wholly different master or masters, formed the stronger party among our Indian subjects. But until the folly seize us of instituting some such crucial test as that, the less said the better, perhaps, about the people of this country whether as one body or as a preponderating number of separate bodies or classes, preferring foreign to native rule.

A still more complicated question than the above, and one more

closely bearing on the subject of our present article, is this : Must the several large tracts of independent territory which still break the continuity of our own possessions on the map of India be regarded as sources of strength or of weakness to the great imperial system of which they now form so important a part ? Much conflict of opinion has prevailed, as our readers are aware, on this topic also ; some high authorities having pronounced those States valuable *points d'appui*, or centres of support, relatively to our own empire ; while other and equally high authorities have looked upon them in just the opposite light.

Thus, for example, Sir Charles Napier, writing from the recently acquired Province of Sindh, in the end of 1845* :—

* * * "With all the internal native principalities, it is not possible to hold India, without an accumulation of debt, and final ruin. The Nizam's territory ought to be consolidated with the Bengal territory, as a grand base from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Indus, and the army should then be organised in four grand corps, *viz.*, 30,000 on the Indus ; head-quarters and civil Government at Lahore or Multan. 25,000 on the Godavari ; head-quarters and civil Government at Hyderabad. 25,000 on the Bharamputra ; head-quarters and civil Government at Calcutta. 50,000 at Lucknow, or Agra ; head-quarters and head-seat of civil Government in India : 20,000 for connecting posts.

* * * * "With this immense reduction of force, the army would still be far more imposing ; as four large armies, each concentrated, would make a show to frighten all Asia ; but our empire must be one empire, not broken by internal independent princes."*

Similarly, and a few years later, Lord Dalhousie himself, when he had held the office of Governor-General for rather less than a year, thus recorded what Sir John Kaye has described as the "earliest exposition of his political creed :"—

"No man," wrote the great Scotsman, "can more sincerely deprecate than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary from considerations of our own safety, and of the maintenance of the tranquility of our provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of States that may lapse in the midst of them : for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength ; for adding to the resources of the public treasury ; and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government to those whose best interests, we sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby".

These be brave words, my masters. It is superfluous to mention that the policy which they were used to advocate has long ago ceased and determined. There is not much greater likeli-

* See the Life and Opinions of Lieutenant-General Sir W. Napier, General Sir C. Napier, G. C. B. ; by K. C. B., vol. iii, p.p. 343-44.

hood of that policy being ever reverted to than of the world witnessing another crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. And yet it must not be inferred from the mere fact of the general question of our attitude towards Native States having been settled in favour of their just rights being respected, and their independence maintained, that an equally definite conclusion has at the same time been formed on the minor issue of the effect which their presence exercises on the foundations of our own power. For to assume that our present policy towards the feudatory states of India was decided upon either for the sake of certain advantages to ourselves which were believed to be derivable from them, or because of our not feeling strong enough to pursue to the bitter end the process of supplanting them, would be tantamount to supposing that the charter of security which the Royal Proclamation of 1858 conferred upon the princes of this country was dictated, not by the principles of right and justice but merely by motives of expediency, or of timidity. Indeed, if any one imagine, that because a few scattered principalities are still governed by native rulers, the soldiers of our three mercenary armies,* and the vassal-nobles of Oudh and the Punjab, are more likely than they would otherwise be to bear with fidelity the yoke of their foreign masters, he falls into as grave error as if he were to argue that because on the occasion of the great Mutiny certain native princes hesitated to make common cause against us with our own disorganised and half-distracted soldiery, a similar attitude will certainly be maintained by the same princes or their successors, if ever a real military and political movement, having its roots in some solid stratum, be aimed at our Indian Empire.

The foregoing remarks have not been penned in the vain hope of rendering less problematical than before the much canvassed topic in immediate connection with which they have been hazarded. Many of the political features which belong to the Independent States admit indeed of being clearly recognised. For example, our own place and duties towards them are becoming better and better defined with every year that passes. But whether they themselves should more properly be regarded in the light of bulwarks or of quicksands, relatively to our own position in this country, seems to us at least to form one of those theo-

* That Bacon's own countrymen should have needed any such terrible lesson as the mutiny of the Bengal army to impress upon their minds the truth of the following Baconian maxim, may even perhaps seem strange :—

“As for mercenary forces, * * * all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, he may spread his feathers for a while : but he will mew them soon thereafter.”

retical questions which it is impossible to determine, and not very necessary to discuss. Our object has merely been to show the extreme importance which belongs to such States, from whatever point of view they are regarded ; and, par inference, the weighty issues which are involved in any measure instituted by the Government of India with the view of adding to the efficiency of that department of the public service by means of which our relations with feudatory princes are maintained, and our communications with them conducted.

That the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign Department which is cited at the head of this article has been framed with no less high an aim than that just stated is evident from the text of the Resolution itself ; notwithstanding the cautiousness with which it is worded and the modesty with which its several provisions are unfolded :—

“ His Excellency in Council observes,” says the Resolution in question “ that at present the pay of political appointments is local ; and came to be fixed at the present rate from a variety of circumstances, often of a fortuitous character ; such, for instance, as the standing of the particular officer who was selected for the post at the time being, or the temporary importance of the particular duty out of which the appointment originated.

“ The attachment of fixed pay to particular appointments, other than the very highest and most important, leads to many difficulties and complications. One of the most obvious inconveniences is that, once an officer has been appointed to a Political Agency, it is often difficult to transfer him to another Agency, where his services would be of more advantage to Government. Still more frequently, however, the effect of the present system is to render a transfer necessary, when there are the strongest reasons against it. When, for instance, the time comes for the promotion of an officer who has done good service in a particular appointment, and has acquired a valuable degree of knowledge of a Native State, there is no means at present of doing him justice, except by removing him to another and more highly paid appointment. Often, indeed, the character of the work is known to be so very different that, in preference to filling up a vacancy by offering it to an officer of merit who has gained his experience elsewhere, it is found necessary to nominate one who, though of lower standing and possibly of inferior merit, has the accidental advantage of possessing to a larger extent the local knowledge and special experience which are felt to be indispensable. In such cases the result is inequality of promotion, and consequent uncertainty in the prospects of officers.

“ His Excellency in Council has therefore resolved henceforth to make the pay of Political officers, except in the highest grades, personal, instead of being attached either to one particular place or to one particular class of appointment : so that an officer will carry with him the pay of the grade to which he belongs, to whatever post he may be appointed.”

After prescribing the mode in which shape is to be given to the views thus broadly stated, the same Resolution thus proceeds :—

“ His Excellency in Council believes that these arrangements are calculated to conduce to the greater efficiency of the Political service ; to define more clearly the position and prospects of Political officers ; and to enable the

Government of India to make better arrangements than are now practicable, both for the selection of candidates for political employment in the first instance, and for the transfer of officers to different appointments from time to time as circumstances may require. At the same time, His Excellency in Council desires most carefully to guard against the impression that the reorganisation and grading of the service is intended to interfere with the power which the Governor-General in Council has hitherto exercised, and in the public interests must continue to exercise, of selecting from any of the branches of the public service for political employment, especially in the higher grades, any officer whom he may consider to possess the necessary qualifications and especial aptitude for political duty. There is, probably, no department of the Government service in which it would be more undesirable, in making selections for appointments, to be guided solely by departmental or seniority claims."

The above order, on its first appearance three years ago in the *Gazette* of the Government of India, may possibly have been mistaken by some for a mere amalgam of Secretariat red tape and financial, cheese-paring—a kind of great clerical effort towards pigeon-holing the members of the political branch, for facility of reference, in nicely lettered compartments, at the same time that their allowances were clipped all round. But if ever any such idea was formed, the way in which the arrangements notified in the Resolution have subsequently been carried out, must surely have led to the measure itself being regarded, not only as an honest admission that the political department in the form it had come to represent contained certain weak points or flaws, but as a more or less statesman-like attempt to reorganise it.

To speak of reorganization in connection with the service which claims the noble army of Malcolms, Pottengers, Outrams, Henry Lawrences, Herbert Edwardes, and others, as more peculiarly its own, may sound strange to some. But were it not for the natural disinclination felt to introduce into these pages descriptions which might, however erroneously, be supposed to be drawn from actual life, it would be easy to show how urgently in point of fact reorganization was needed. The strength of every position is surely that of its weakest, not of its strongest, part; and because chance may occasionally have sent a Metcalfe to Hyderabad, or a Henry Lawrence to Lucknow, it is hardly safe to infer that the same blind power may be depended on always to depute not less effective Residents to the same and other equally vital centres. Certainly no branch of the service, not even perhaps the Army Clothing Department, has had greater liberties taken with it than the political, in the way of officers being appointed to it, as it were at random, and that too in its highest grades. Lord Ellenborough himself could hardly have placed on the Bench of the High Court, for example, a man who had never faced a pleader, or opened a work on jurisprudence, in the whole course of his life. But the Indian Political has sometimes

been thought to be born, not made ; and though it was reserved for a certain Local Government, on a recent notable occasion, to record the first official statement of such a principle, yet the practice itself is an old one of sending men as Residents to native courts, on grounds akin to those on which fine old chargers are drafted into the stud, or young gentlemen of good family appointed to the Australian, not to say Indian Police, namely, the absence of suitable employment for them of any other kind. Cavillers might say, indeed, that a species of trap-door for the entrance of the very class of *emeriti* now referred to into the political service of the future also has been expressly provided in the clause of the Resolution which is designed, as its words run, "Most carefully to guard against the impression that the reorganization and grading of the service is intended to interfere with the power which the Governor-General in Council has hitherto exercised, and in the public interests must continue to exercise, of selecting from any of the branches of the public service, for political employment, especially in the higher grades, any officer whom he may consider to possess the necessary qualification and especial aptitude for political duty." But so long as those words are construed in the sense in which we believe them to have been written, we cannot conceive any one taking exception to so reasonable and wholesome a reservation. Close services, we all know, are rife with evil ; and an occasional top-dressing with the best available material in the whole country, ought to prove as advantageous to the political department itself as it must certainly be conducive to the interests of the Empire. And yet, on the other hand, should it turn out that the intromissions witnessed in the new service do not essentially differ in their character or history from those which sometimes occurred under the old *régime*, then we do not see how the reorganization can be expected to prove much more than nominal. For to induce a number of public servants to devote their lives to the acquisition of certain special capabilities, in order, as they suppose, to become fitted for the performance of certain remarkably difficult and delicate duties, and then from time to time intrust those duties, before their very eyes, to some soldier who has just brought a brigade of native troops to the brink of mutiny, or some civilian whose advancement beyond a certain moderate stage in his own proper line is clearly an impossibility, merely because the former may have won his spurs on some famous field, while the latter is illustrious only for the blank and blameless tenor of his private life, would simply be to undo with one hand the work that had just been performed with the other.

Recognising as we do the general value of any measure tending to reform or reorganise the political department, it seems needless to criticise too closely this first and very considerable step

in that direction. And yet it has to be admitted that several of the provisions of the orders now being reviewed are open enough to question. Thus, for instance, it may be said of them that they are scarcely conceived in the spirit of the time-honoured principle of recompensing a man according to the work which is allotted to him; since they contemplate the transference of a political officer from perhaps an assistantship in some obscure Native State, where his duties and responsibilities have been very small, to, it may be, the cantonment magistrateship of some large and important station, without any corresponding improvement being at the same time made in his salary or position. Moreover, the allowances which have been assigned to Residents, Political Agents, and Political Assistants in the several grades respectively, have been framed so much on the 'one straw a day' principle, that we do not see how the Resolution itself and the scale of emoluments which has been framed in connection with it can have proceeded from one and the same mind. That great Financiers have not invariably proved great Generals is a fact which might easily be demonstrated. That they have frequently been statesmen of the first-water cannot however be denied. And yet, we suspect, many a measure has been shorn of all that was statesman-like about it in its transit through the bureau of some financial Rhadamanthus whose whole soul was concentrated in his year's budget.

That a Political Agent should receive less pay while guiding the course of events in Bhopal or Boghelcund, for example, than is drawn by a Deputy-Commissioner of the second-class for collecting the revenues of some small district of a non-regulation British Province is one of those anomalies which time and common sense between them may perhaps be trusted sooner or later to remedy, in spite even of Finance Ministers. At present, however, the actual state of the case is as just mentioned; one consequence being that members of the civil service are not encouraged to enter the political department, except at an advanced stage of their career, and then, fit or not fit, at the top of the tree. That a portion of the high culture and taste for historical and speculative—often, indeed too speculative—inquiry for which the Indian Civilian is now perhaps even more honourably distinguished than ever, should not have been turned in the direction of Native States is, we think, to be regretted, for the sake of those States themselves; while the benefit which would accrue both to the civil service and the empire could a certain number of young civilians be kept constantly passing through the ranks of so thoroughly general and imperial a department as the political would be considerable. Doubtless, the exceptions to what we are about to remark are numerous; but still on the whole, perhaps, as matters stand, our heads of

Provinces and members of Council are too often men whose minds have been prevented from attaining the full power and proportions naturally inherent in them, owing to their service having been chiefly spent in one corner of the empire only, even though that corner may have been the Panjāb. Moreover, there is nothing like residence in a Native State for disclosing to our view the people of this country in their true and natural light, and at the same time drawing out our sympathies towards them; since there are to be seen princes and nobles, soldiers, statesmen, and priests, performing high functions, and carrying on all the affairs of Government, without much advice or assistance from Europeans. We lately heard an intelligent civil officer predict something like ruin to his district, merely because it was understood that his successor in charge of it was to be a native, though not so much as the name of the latter had then transpired. Had our friend served for a couple of years in a tolerably well-ordered Native State, he would probably have been saved, for all the rest of his life, from such partial views. For a long time, it is true, there has been no room for the appearance of Akbars, or Sivajis, or Ranjit Singhs, among the people of this country. But any one who has, for example, watched the Maharaja Sindhia manœuvre his army on the plains round Gwalior, or studied the skilful hand played during all these years by the master-spirit of the Nepal darbar, or observed the administrative ability manifested by Sir Salar Jung and Sir Madhava Rao, cannot but have had his views considerably broadened in consequence. All this though is a digression, arising out of our remarks on the too scanty pay attached to the political service under the new *régime*; and on the unfortunate effect which this has had in diminishing the attractions of the department for civilians.

There is one other point which we desire prominently to notice before closing these cursory remarks, namely, the disadvantage under which the political branch labours, as compared with the other great divisions of the State, in being without any chief of its own to administer it and direct its affairs, in immediate communication with the Viceroy. Other departments, as is well known, have each its recognised head, and responsible representative in the Supreme Council of the Empire. And it is hard to understand why the same should not be the case in regard to a department, which deals with questions so weighty and delicate as those sometimes cropping up among our feudatories. Viceroys, it is true, have often professed an honourable pride in being their own Foreign Ministers; and certainly the portfolio of this department is one which must be constantly in the hands and under the eye of the Governor-General himself. But

none the less, perhaps indeed all the more, on that account should the representative of the Sovereign not be left, as now, to seek for advice in unknown and irresponsible quarters, on the occurrence of difficulties involving at once our own honour or prestige, and the vital interests of some great principality. The old dogma about 'nature abhorring a vacuum' may have no place in the modern science of physics. But it expresses in its own way a great law of the moral and material worlds for all that. And as surely as counsel has to be sought, while no officially constituted authority is present to afford it, will amateur, and possibly dangerous advisers rush in to fill the void. The Foreign Secretary, it will here be said, is at once the virtual head of the political department, and the official adviser of the Governor-General in matters relating to Native States. Granted. But not to dwell on the possibility of its so happening that that functionary has graduated in some wholly different school than the political, it may be taken as certain that even the ablest and strongest Secretary can never rise so completely above his own proper position of Secretary as to fill towards his Chief the same place that a member of Council would fill. Rather than afford grounds for the imputation of being "led by their Secretaries," high authorities have sometimes submitted themselves more or less to the guidance of others who were far less safe advisers. And if the records of the Foreign Office were open to us, the true history of many a little fiasco that has occurred might possibly be found to be this, namely, that the Viceroy, disregarding for the nonce the views of the Secretary, has adopted those of some higher functionary; who, however great his ability and wide his experience, had never enjoyed the opportunity of studying the political features and springs of action which belong to Native States.

We trust these remarks will not be misunderstood as if they originated in the idea that Viceroys are dependent, on the guidance of others in carrying on the Government of this country. To a certain extent doubtless they do, and must, frequently fall back upon such aid; for no man can reason or act with safety except on data which accurate knowledge of facts and ripe local experience alone can supply. But our point goes no further than this, that as members of Council, and not only Secretaries, have been appointed for the support and assistance of the head of the State in his conduct of revenue, military, financial, public works, and legislative affairs, his hands should be similarly strengthened in regard to the disposal of political business also.

Not only would the political member be selected from among those who combined with the ripest judgment the most varied practical experience of Native States, but his knowledge of

their condition and affairs would no doubt also be occasionally refreshed by means of tours. Through his instrumentality, the several Political Agents would be kept abreast with the policy of the Government of the day. Native chiefs, when they saw him from time to time make his appearance within their territory, would feel more sure than ever that nothing was likely to be done at the outposts which had not been planned and resolved upon in the citadel. And the Government of India itself, from having always at its command sound and unbiassed testimony as to what lines of action were expedient, and what inexpedient, what simple, and what hardly worth the candle, would be saved from the danger of pressing for the performance of impossibilities, and afterward blaming their local representatives for failing to accomplish such objects.

But yet another marked advantage would, in our humble opinion, follow from an arrangement like that now advocated. Doubtless the presence of so strong and able an adviser at the Viceroy's right hand would do much to prevent the thread of political affairs from becoming knotted or entangled. But supposing a complication after all to occur in some Native State, nothing would be easier than for the Foreign Minister to proceed quietly to the spot and set matters right, without either the local representative being discredited, or outsiders apprized that circumstances of a special nature had arisen. The actual history of events at Baroda during the last few years is still too recent to be used with propriety, whether to point a moral or adorn a tale. But what that history *might* have been, had the Nestor of the political service, and Inspector-General of Augean stables to the Indian Government, occupied during those years the position of political member of the Supreme Council, and sole adviser of the Viceroy in all matters having reference to Native States, is a question which we leave our readers to ponder over for themselves.

ART. VIII.—THE NINE-LAKH CHAIN : OR, THE
MARO FEUD.

BEING THE FIRST PORTION OF

The Lay of Alha.

FYTTE VIII.

In Kariya's camp his court was placed,
His chiefs were there, a crowd :
There came a messenger pressing in haste
And his camel groaned aloud.

He drew the chain, the camel knelt,
And down he lighted near ;
He stood and bowed, he cried aloud,
That all the chiefs did hear.

" Mahoba men from Mahoba are come,
Thy house a ruin they make ;
Suraj lies slain on the battle plain,
Till his body home thou take."

Prince Kariya started from his seat,
And eke his captains all ;
The hair of their head stood up with dread
Such evil chance should fall.

His long boots creaked as he forth did come,
And the shield on his shoulders rang ;
" Give the drummer the pledge that he beat the drum,
On his wrists gold bangles hang."

From tent to tent the tidings went,
Each warrior grasped his sword ;
Camels were groaning, horses were girthed,
And howdas with silken cord.

Twelve pair of kettle-drums sounded alarms,
The trumpets and conchs also ;
The Maro host stood ready in arms,
At the beat of the drum to go.

The Pathans* of Shahabad† were there,
 Hight Ranga and Banga bold ;
 Quoth the Prince, " In Mahoba a touch-stone‡ rare
 Turns iron and steel to gold.

The Mahoba men to our borders came ;
 To you I yield the prey."
 Then loud they shouted Ali's name,
 And soon to selle sprang they.

To his elephant-ward then Kariya cried,
 " Make ready Pachawad strong ;
 And Papiha beside, if a horse I would ride,
 Shall be led by his groom along."

When Kariya saw them at the yett,§
 He donned his harness fine ;
 As his foot on the howda stair he set,
 He was ware of an evil sign.||

" O Pandit, say what this sign may bode,
 My heart misgives me sore—"
 Then the Pandit took his star-time book,
 And conned his Vedas o'er,

" The Node the twelfth house darkens," he said,
 " The eighth doth Venus fill ;
 The baleful Saturn stands o'erhead,
 In the tenth the Moon works ill.

" I rede thee back to Maro go,
 Nor tempt, my prince, the fray ;
 The times are cross, the stars work woe,
 Stir not a step to-day."

" Let pedlars' sons the omens heed,
 Who traffic and trade alway ;
 Let peasants stay the stars to read,
 Ere they crown for their marriage day.

* Afghans, but of course at this date they had not passed beyond the Punjab. wealth it produced, are renowned in many of the ballads.

† I suppose the district in Behar is intended.

‡ This which was gained by a predecessor of King Parmal, and the

§ Gate.

|| Almost every incident in the ballads is foretold by the omens. Sneezing is one of the most unpropitious.

"Are Kshatri youths to fear a freit,*
Who the warsmith's steel devour?
The force must march, the drum must beat."
So Kariya rode that hour.

A murmur of marching men there rose,
The dust turned day to night;
With a creaking of cannon the army goes,
With a rushing of chariots light.

The force swept on like a storm-cloud bank,
And before went the banners of red;
Kariya ranged his troops in rank,
And slow to the ground did tread.

Silent he lifted his brother's corse,
In a litter to Maro sent;
But he roared amain as a tiger roars,
As back to his seat he went.

"What child of man can equal my might?
Is my match in the Rajput race?
Whose hand has been raised my Suraj to smite?
Let him answer me face to face."

Bold Udan galloped forth a spacc,
And loud he made reply,
"The Rajput who dares meet thy face,
Thy match in fight, am I.

"No Dasraj I, bound with a chain,
Thy captive unaware:
Whom in the stone mill thou hast slain,
His skull thy tree doth bear.

"Now am I come to avenge his fate,
And the fire of my heart to slake;
When I beat down proud Maro's state,
And make of her site a lake."

"Let none of the men of Mahoba go,
Be smitten every head;
Fire all my cannon and sweep the foe,"
Cried Karingha with eye-balls red,

There was loading of cannon and ramming of ball,
 And priming and lighting the pan ;
 His friend from foe might no man know,
 Such a smoke overhead began.

The rockets screamed, the guns roared loud,
 The arrows whistled and flew ;
 Headlong like bolts from Indra's* cloud,
 Fell many a warrior true.

Camel and horse fell one by one,
 The elephants screaming lay ;
 Too hot to touch was every gun,
 Yet none drew back from the fray.

Torn were the hands of the archers tried, '
 And slack each good bow-string ;
 But lances were plied and garments dyed,
 So fast the blood did spring.

" O servants none, but brothers to me,"
 Bold Udan cried around ;
 " Your names, if from the fight ye flee,
 For ages seven are drown'd.

" The Sawan † month must soon be past,
 The flower must drop to earth ;
 The mother's time must come at last,
 And rare ‡ is human birth.

" The leaf that from the bough may part,
 It never more can grow : "
 Thus Udan cheered his Rajputs' heart,
 And led them on the foe.

As the wolves the sheep, as the lion the kine,
 As the schoolboys drive the ball ;
 So onward pressed the Mahoba line,
 And drew their good swords all.

As the parrot peeks the woodland nut,
 As the leaf, neath the betel knife ;
 So down was many a stripling cut,
 Ah woe to the widowed wife !

* God of the sky.

Women.

† July, August. It seems to be a
 month of holiday especially for,

‡ In the cycle of transmigrations.

There was weeping for father and weeping for child,
And weeping for wife new wed ;
And weeping for fate of mother mild,
Whose son is before * her, dead.

Both armies that day made right good play,
And sore were the strokes they gave ;
But Maro at length fled scattered away,
And few their lives could save.

When Kariya saw his soldiers fly,
His elephant forward he drave ;
He loosed the chain from the canopy high,
And there to Pachsawad gave.

“ Thou hast eaten the salt of the Baghel long,
Now help, 'gainst this evil blast ;
Let none of the foe to Mahoba go,
Take Udan and bind him fast.”

Ranga and Banga stood thereby,
And Kariya turned and cried,
“ Shall a mere boy my house destroy,
And humble Maro's pride ?

“ Let none escape of Devi's sons,
Down from their horses smite : ”
The two Pathans then charged at once,
With Kariya on their right.

Through troop and line Pachsawad raged,
He whirled his chain around ;
The stoutest chief who combat waged,
He dashed him to the ground.

The host of Udan wavered and broke,
For life did faint hearts fly ;
“ Now, Udan, now,” fierce Kariya spoke,
“ Bold knight, prepare to die.”

“ I would not fly,” quoth Udan high,
“ Were all my flesh beshred.”
The massy mace Karingha bore,
He dashed at Udan's head.

* And therefore cannot perform the funeral rites.

He 'scaped the blow, he spurred his steed,
 That it reared to the elephant's crown ;
 So mickle of might did Udan smite,
 Came the canopy shivering down.

" Pachsawad, now thy lord obey,"
 Fierce Kariya thundered amain ;
 " Let him not take the Mahoba way,
 Bind fast with thine iron chain."

He swung the chain on Bendula's mane,
 He bound his arms full fast ;
 Udan he swept to the howda aloft ;
 Then all men stay'd aghast.

FYTTE IX.

Alha's court and Devi's tent
 Were in the acacia wood ;
 Saying " 'Tis long since Udan went,"
 She at her tent door stood.

" Why comes he not ?" She strained her eyes
 The distant road to see,
 When she was aware of Rupnâ there,
 Mahoba's herald he.

And when she saw he weeping stood,
 She balsed* him tenderly :
 " Why weep so sore, my Rupna good ?
 And how may Udan be ?"

" O lady, thou amiss hast done,
 To trust such boys in fray ;
 They never smelt the smoke of gun,
 Nor saw the swordsman's play.

" When Kariya fierce set on our line,
 Was none could stand his ground ;
 Pachsawad strong who erst was thine,
 Fast Udan's arms he bound."

She fell to ground in deadly swoond,
 But soon for her litter sent ;
 The pennon flapped o'er the bearers twelve,
 So fast to the field she went.

* Embraced.

A mother's yearning filled her breast,
For fear she nothing shrunk ;
As it were a cow her calf caressed,
She clasped Pachsawad's trunk.

" I reared thee up in my house from youth,
And gave thee milk good store ;
O little of grace, was this thy truth,
My Udan to bind so sore ? "

At her words a shame o'er Pachsawad came,
" I was pledged to the King Jambay ;
I have eaten his salt, 'twas in me no fault
I should bind thine Udan Ray.

" Were Malkhan now to the battle sent,
He would soon set Udan free : "
Then Devi quick to her litter went,
And straight to the camp came she.

" O Malkhan brave, thy younger save, '
She cried with streaming eyes ;
" On the battle plain, by Kariya ta'en,"
A captive bound he lies."

" Now, Alha, hear," brave Malkhan said,
" Let all thine army come ;
I must go to the ground where my brother lies bound ; "
Then loud they beat the drum.

He blessed the World-mother and Rama's name,
The feet of the earth and the sun ;
So forth from his tent brave Malkhan went,
And thus to his mare begun.

" If I boiled thee carrots in days of spring,
And gave thee oil in rain ;
If Malhna the Queen thy milk did bring,
Full bowls for the filly to drain ;

" In Maro here, this land of fear,
Be thou my stay, O mare ! "
Then did she arch her neck and rear,
And proudly paw the air.

" A long farewell to all things dear,
 To life a long farewell ! "
 So all the army marched in fere *
 When Malkhan sprang to selle.

To the field of fight they came with speed,
 In Kariya's front he spake ;
 " Upon herbs on which asps have breathed can'st feed ?
 The lioness' milk canst take ?

" A ladder'gainst Paradise gate can'st place ?
 Can'st bind a brother of mine ?
 Let a Kshatri answer me face to face,
 If one be in the Maro line."

Now a pretty boy in sooth," said he,
 " But I rede thee home return ;
 Lest I deal, as with Dasraj I dealt, with thee : "
 Then Malkhan's eyes did burn.

His sword flashed bare, he spurred his mare,
 That she reared to the elephant's crown ;
 Pillar of sandal and pinnacles gold
 At his stroke came toppling down.

The driver laid on strokes well told,
 Not a step Pachawad went ;
 His trunk between his tusks he rolled,
 And down his knees he bent.

And Alha then with all his men
 Came charging o'er the plain ;
 With a battle shout their swords flashed out,
 Like the sweep of the hurricane.

" Pachawad doth play me false to-day ;
 He quits the foremost line : "
 Karingha's soul was troubled sore,
 And round he turned his eyne.

Then straight he bade Papiha bring,
 And lighted down to ride ;
 From his courser's back did Malkhan spring,
 And sat by Udan's side.

Udan unbound he laid on the ground,
And Rupna Bendula led ;
Queen Devi down from her litter came,
And worshipped Pachawad's head.

With the sandal free, so fair to see,
She painted his frontal wide ;
" Behold I entrust my sons to thee,
Now help in this perilous tide.

" Ho Alha, here thy father's beast,
Mount up, my son, and ride : "
He climbed and stood on the painted wood
And sat as he grasped the side.

" Fight on, my merry men," Alha cried,
Take each his fill ; the game : "
Though swords by both were briskly plied,
With a rush Mahoba came.

They beat down all like a desert bare,
Nor high nor low could stay ;
They, who long gowns were proud to wear,
Fled through ravines away.

Then fast did Udan to Kariya go,
At the gallop he came and cried ;
" My turn 'tis now to deal the blow,
Look thou my stroke to bide."

Karingha turned his cruel eye,
To Ranga called and said ;
" Let none of the men of Mahoba fly,
Go, smite them every head."

" Ho ! stand," stout Ranga 'gan to cry,
" O son of Mahoba's King ;
Strike turn by turn till one of us die ;"
Then together their chargers spring.

He struck him once, he struck him twice,
But never the buckler cleft ;
At the third stroke the good blade broke,
And the hilt in his hand was left.

Then on Narayan Udan cried,
 And on Kali's feet also ;
 With drawn sword galloped to Ranga's side,
 He smote and laid him low.

Now Banga was near and his sword drew he,
 But Dhewa spurred from the right ;
 " Fight we and see what is God's decree ;"
 Then struck he with all his might.

The blow on Dhewa's buckler fell,
 And broken was Banga's blade ;
 " A summons is come from the lord of hell,
 And near is my death," he said.

Than Dhewa wheeled and smote on the right,
 Nor buckler nor pad could save ;
 Through twelve mail rings did the good steel bite,
 And from shoulder to waist it clave.

When Ranga fell and Banga as well,
 Karingha was troubled sore ;
 He struck with his mace at Dhewa's steed,
 But his blow the buckler bore.

So Bhikham's* son was wounded none,
 But his horse seven paces reeled ;
 And Udan thereon with his good sword drawn,
 Came spurring over the field.

But Udan's steed he smote with his mace,
 That he reeled five paces back ;
 Was never a chief could hold his place,
 'Gainst Kariya's fierce attack.

Then Udan rode to the brave Malkhan,
 He joined his hands and spake ;
 " No match for Kariya's strength am I,
 Or a captive in chains I'd take."

When Malkhan heard, he onward spurred,
 Eight paces off 'gan ery ;
 " Now Kariya, sit thou warily,
 For know thy death is nigh."

* Apparently another discrepancy with the prologue where his father is called Rahma.

His Bardwan* broad sword in wrath he drew,
He struck with all his strength ;
But never a whit on Malkhan it bit,
Not even a barleycorn's length.

Then Malkhan drew sword and remembered his Lord,
And Narayan's† name he said,
And Maniya fair, Mahoba's ward ;
So he smote off Kariya's head.

Down Udan sprang and the head he took,
And thus to Alha spake ;
" We have slain the foe and laid him low,
Then here we our camp should make.

" I mind when we marched from Mahoba, then
Queen Malhna spake from the door ;
' I bless you my sons, and I bless you again,
But when shall we meet once more ? '

" Then I gave her my word for eight short months,
And now is a year gone by ;
And surely I fear she sheds many a tear,
' Why comes not Udan Ray ? '

" Send Kariya's head her heart to ease : "
Then his word liked Alha well ;
In a litter he laid the head and he bade
The herald the tidings tell.

A young horse saddled was standing there,
And Rupna leapt thereon ;
The bearers were yare‡ and the litter they bare :
So he to Mahoba is gone.

FYTTE X.

Queen Malhna looked over lake and hill,
On the topmost turret raised ;
All day she was standing, standing, still,
All night she waked and gazed.

* These weapons are generally described as coming from this town in Bengal.

† Vishnu as the Supreme Being.
‡ Ready.

She watched the road where earth met sky,
 " My youngest long doth bide."
 If a distant traveller met her eye,
 " 'Tis Udan at last," she cried.

Queen Malhna stood on the topmost stair,
 She looked over dale and down ;
 And she was aware of Mahila there,
 Came riding to the town.

Slowly, slowly she down did win ;
 " What ails my sister ? " he said,
 " And why is thy body grown so thin,
 And thine eyes with weeping red ? "

" Ask not, O brother, what ill I fear,
 For how shall I bear to tell ?
 Alha and Udan from infants I rear,
 Malkhan and Salkhan as well.

" To war in the Maro land they went,
 And there come no tidings here ;
 They promised eight months should not be spent,
 But now there is past a year."

" There are floating, O sister, such rumours of bale,
 It likes me not to say ;
 Two Maro messengers told the tale,
 They passed by my garden way.

" The Banaphars, they said, were slain and each head
 Was hung on a fig tree high : "
 The Rani fell to the ground as dead,
 And the twelve queens loud' gan cry.

" Who will ferry us over this stormy sea,
 Since sunk is our golden isle ? "
 " Will weeping bring back the dead ? " quoth he,
 " Be patient, my sister, the while.

" Go, bid thy Brahman choose the day,
 And memory's rites provide ;
 For each wife her bracelets must cast away,
 A widow, the sea* beside."

* As in English, used for a lake.

Now the litter to Parmal's court was led,
Then out and spake the King ;
" Ill rumours are spread that our youngest is dead ;
O herald, whose head dost bring ?"

He joined his hands, " O speak not so ;
The lads are in health," he said,
" They have wroken* their father on false Maro,
And have sent me with Kariya's head."

Up from his seat rose the King Parmal
And drew the curtains apart ;
" An thou tarry to go to the painted hall,
The Queen will have stabbed her heart."

And, when the herald reached the yett,†
The Queen came hurrying soon ;
She saw the litter with blood was wet,
And fell in deadly swoon.

" Ill rumours are spread that Udan is dead ;
Now tell me the truth, my son : "
" O mother, four sons King Jambay had,
Now Udan hath slain each one.

" They have razed the fort of th' acacia trees.
They have wrought their work in the land ;
Prince Kariya's head, thy mind to ease,
They send thee by my hand."

The litter curtains he drew apart,
Karingha's head to show ;
Then glad was Rani Malhna's heart,
To hear they had quelled the foe.

" O brother Mahil, thou shouldst have died,
Ere such false rumours tell ;
My sons are living each one," she cried,
" They have wroken their father well."

" Come, eat in the palace, my Rupna good : "
His hands did he join and say,
" By thy leave, O mother, I cook no food,
It would hinder my backward way.

* Avenged.

• † Gate.

“ For well I wot our youngest will chide,
Till my journey to Maro is done : ”
So forth with the litter did Rupna ride,
Till Alha's camp he won.

Down from his horse did he leap and stand, .
And thrice low louted he ;
But Alha caught him by the hand,
And halsed him tenderly.

“ Say, how is it now with Mahoba fair ?
How doth the King Parmal ? ”
“ Well do all fare by God's grace there ;
He sits and governs all.”

“ Now hear, my brother,” bold Udan cried, .
“ For Lohagarh be we boune ;
Against the gate let our guns be plied,
And so shall we win the town.”

The drummer they called and a pledge they cast,
Gave bangles of gold to wear ;
And they bade him sound the camp around
That each might his arms prepare.

Through each camp street went messengers fleet,
And soon the tidings passed ;
To and fro did the marshal go,
And the troops arranged them fast.

Howda on elephant, selle on steed,
On Manurtha Dhewa sprang ;
On Rasbendul did Udan speed,
And the targe on his left arm rang.

Kabutri there, that right good mare,
The brave Malkhan bestrode ;
Alha sat on Pachsawat strong,
And his Lioness Mira rode.

With beating of drum did the army come,
With flaunting of banners of red ;
The guns were raised and the linstocks blazed,
And the smoke to the gateway spread.

To Jambay's hall two messengers hied ;
The King with his council sate ;
"Lo here the Mahoba host," they cried,
"They have planted their guns at the gate."

Up started the King astonied sore,
He went to the painted tower ;
Queen Kushla met her lord at the door
With her fan of the purple flower.

She joined her hands, "O husband, say,
What evil chance hath passed ?
Why droops the hair of thy lip to-day,
And thy lofty look down-cast."

"How shall I tell the tale, O Queen ?
Thy race is all undone ;
Four goodly sons my stem made green,
But now there liveth none.

"Mahoba's chief, that Udan hight,
Queen Devi's younger son ;
Good sooth a warrior skilled in fight,
He slew them every one."

Fair Bijma was standing the lattice behind
And her father's words heard she ;
"Bendula's rider now will I bind,
Whose fear lies so heavy on thee."

To her bower anon is the Princess gone,
And her Bengal* casket rent ;
She busked her in haste and forth she paced,
And soon to the camp she went.

O'er Alha she cast the Bhairar spell,
He could not speak nor see ;
On Malkhan the Narsingh powder fell,
Then voice and sense lost he .

* Kamrup in Assam perhaps, education as in the old romances of which is considered the head-quarters of all magic. It is curious to find this a common part of a lady's Europe, and we have good as well as bad enchantresses, the Lady of the Lake as well as Morgau le Fay look.

Bir Mahamda's charm did to Dhewa fly,
 Then darkness wrapped him round ;
 Through the whole wide camp not a mouse could cry,
 By the spell of silence bound.

Bold Udan she turned to a ram that day,
 So mighty a charm she got ;
 To lone Jharkhand * she led him away
 To her teacher Jhilmila's cot.

She tied him fast with a silken string,
 At her master's feet she fell ;
 " A Mahoba thief, my father, I bring,
 As thou lovest me, guard him well."

To Maro then and her painted dome
 In haste the Princess passed ;
 And all her spells she summoned home,
 Which on the camp she cast.

Then Alha woke, to Malkhan spoke,
 " My brother's steed I see ;
 But on his back no rider sits,
 O where may Udan be ? "

" Ho, Dhewa wise, ' brave Malkhan cries,
 " What sees thy prophet mind ?
 Mark sign and book, and soothly look,
 Our youngest how to find."

So Dhewa took his star-time book,
 And soon he 'gan to say,
 " 'Tis Jambay's child, Bijaisin styled,
 Has stol'n our brother away.

" She has made him a ram by the spell she cast,
 Through the might of Gramarye ;
 In Jharkhand lone she has bound him fast,
 Her master's cottage nigh."

" Now rede we a rede, how best we speed,
 To set my brother free : "
 " Let Malkhan 'don the Jogi's weed,
 And doff his Rajputi."

* The forest of Bainath or Baidyanath, I believe, in the hill country on the rail road between Allahabad and Calcutta ; but the ballad is quite independent of time and place.

He hath signed his forehead with Rama's sign,
Smeared his body with ashes well ;
He sang the praise of the name divine,
And his sandal beads 'gan tell.

He hath taken his flute and Dhewa his drum,
The feet of their Lord they adore ;
And soon to the Jharkhand wood they come,
And stand at the hermit's door.

Then Malkhan sang and the cottage rang,
So sweetly did he trill ;
Forth to his door the hermit ran,
And asked them of their will.

" O Jogis twain that roam the waste,
Whence come ye ? whither go ?"
" Our master's steps we vainly traced,
His road we do not know.

" So here we stay to ask the way
To Hardwar's sacred flow : "
" First let me see your skill I pray,
Then I the path will show."

Then loud was Dhewa's tambour struck,
And Malkhan danced and sprang ;
The wood as they trilled was with rapture filled,
While every change they sang.

" O Jogis, here in my hut abide,
I'll serve your feet each day ; "
" Waters that flow, and Jogis that go,
What power can bid them stay ?

" Bring forth thine alms whate'er it be,
And let us wend our way : "
" Ask what ye will, an asking free,
I will not say ye nay."

" Now give this ram," quoth Malkhan brave,
He stopped in dumb dismay,
" The boon ye crave is Bijma's slave,
It must not pass away."

" Thy holy deeds are all uundone,
By swerving from thy word : "
On that he gave the ram they won,
Nor any more demurr'd.

" What do I with this ram, O sage ?
To man I pray thee turn ;
The laws of fast and pilgrimage,
My minister shall learn.

Into his scrip he thrust his hand,
A spell of might he drew ;
The charm he shed o'er Udan's head,
And made him man anew.

But, when the three were passed from sight,
Quoth Udan, " Brother, hear ;
If lady Bijma learn my flight,
She will steal me again, I fear.

" This hermit is a warlock hoar,
Him, Malkhan, must thou kill : "
Then Malkhan turned him to the door ;
The hermit asked his will.

" A draught from out thy well I ask,
On weary journey boune : "
The silken cord, the silver flask,
He stooped to let them down.

And, as he raised the silken thread,
His bright sword Malkhan drew ;
He smote the hermit's hoary head,
And in the cottage threw.

The spells and charms of Gramarye,
They bore them all away ;
So to the camp are come the three,
I wis they did not stay.

When Udan went to Alha's tent,
Right glad was he, I ween ;
He hals'd him well and ask'd what fell ;
Great joy was them between.

FYTTE XI.

They have planted their cannon against the gate,
Proud Lohagarh to quell ;
An hundred guns did in order wait,
Till the word for the onset fell.

An hundred linstocks at once they ply,
And the smoke to the welkin wins ;
And word is brought to the King Jambay,
The Mahoba attack begins.

He bade them fire from every gun
That stood on the turrets high ;
They light the matches for every one,
And the cannon balls roar and fly.

The army of Alha was troubled sore,
As the groaning warriors fall ;
In vain did the cannon of Malkhan roar,
They pierced not that iron wall.

Quoth Udan, " Brother, hear my rede,
Send to th' acacia wood ;
And lade on all our wains with speed
The thorn boughs theré that stood.

" Then heap them high in the ditch to lie,
And drive a mine also ;
And many a bag with the powder fill,
To place in the trench below."

The matches they light, the flames burn bright,
They melt the lead of the wall ;
The guns that stood on the battlement height,
Each toppling down doth fall.

Then Malkhan brave his onset made,
His sword at the gate he drew ;
Strokes with his blade full heavy he laid,
And all the guards he slew.

Bold Udan sprang from selle thereby,
Found clubs of the metals eight* ;
The locks at his strokes to pieces fly,
So the army forced the gate.

* These are said to be gold, silver, copper, brass, tin, bell-métal (or steel,) lead and iron.

A messenger ran, a fearful man,
 Where Jambay held his state ;
 And thrice he bowed, and cried aloud,
 "The foe has forced the gate."

Up stert* the King and his nobles all,
 Who sat in the council room ;
 Eftsoons did he the drummer call,
 And turban he gave and plume.

At the first drum-beat they saddle the steed, •
 At the second to selle they spring ;
 At the third drum-beat they are ready at need,
 To ride with the Maro King. •

The King to Gauri† and Ganesh bowed,
 And in water of Ganga bathed ;
 The muslin they brought was in Egypt wrought,
 Wherewith his limbs were swathed.

His girdle was all of the velvet good,
 With many a gay gold ring ;
 Dagger and sword at his waist there stood,
 As fitted a Rajput King.

He took in his hand his mighty mace,
 To his elephant forth went he ;
 And he stept up the stair of sandal fair,
 Was carved so rich to see.

And, when they reached the Banaphar force,
 From his howda he loud 'gan call :
 "Let none of the foe unwounded go,
 Fight on my merry men all."

His sword each man of Maro drew,
 And all did quit them well ;
 Shot and spear and arrow flew,
 And many a warrior fell.

The sand around was soaked with gore,
 Where thick the ranks did tread ;
 Wounded rose to fight once more,
 Yea, bodies ‡ that lacked the head.

* Started.

‡ Not an uncommon incident in

† The fair manifestation of Durga, these heroic combats.
 wife of Shiva, as Kali is the dark.

"Friends," cried Udan, "this our day,
Glory all may reach ;
Soon we take our homeward way,
With honour and wealth for each."

He cheered his men, and on they sped,
But the Raja loud 'gan cry ;
"Is there ever a Rajput Mahoba bred,
Dares meet with the King Jambay ?"

Then Udan struck with his bossy shield,
And the pinnacles clattered from place
But backward soon his courser reeled
At the blow from the Raja's mace.

Then Dhewa smote, but the King was ware,
And a blow on the steed did lay ;
He reared full high and fast 'gan fly ;
No reining him could stay.

There was never a Chief his place could hold,
Where the Raja's blows did fall ;
Oh ! bitter that day the war that rolled,
Round the fort of the iron wall.

Faint heart and brave, 'fore Maro's King,
They scattered like morning cloud ;
Down the ravine, to 'scape unseen,
Fled many a turban proud.

There were some who holding their breath did lie,
A heap of slain below ;
When an elephant mad rushed trampling by,
They died without striking blow.

There were some who swaggered with sword before,
In street though never in tent ;
Now only a string and a loin cloth wore,
Their bodies with ashes besprent.

They signed their foreheads with Rama's sign,
With the blood-stained earth they found ;
"We were begging our way to the Jagannath shrine,
When the sword play closed around."

And one on his back took of bucklers a pack,
 Like a Jaipur * artisan ;
 " For selling of shield I had come to the field,
 Nor wist ere the fight began."

The howdas were filled with blood that day,,
 The horsemen dripped with gore ;
 Friend from foe might no man know,
 But the fight raged more and more.

Brave Malkhan stood a while dismayed,
 Then fast to Alha sped ;
 He joined his hands and asked for aid,
 " Brother, give ear," he said.

" No chief can stand in the Raja's sight,
 My strength is all in vain ;
 But thou art able to equal his might,
 And to bind him with iron chain."

When Alha heard his brother's word
 For chains he straight did send ;
 To his elephant then he gave them to hold,
 And, " Pachsawad," he cried, " attend.

" We must bind the foe and make him a show
 For the folk of Mahoba town ;
 When to King Parmal and to Malhna we go,
 In our homeward triumph bouné."

Onward Pachsawad pressed amain,
 The ranks he scattered wide ;
 As he whirled his chain, he strewed the plain
 Like a desert on either side.

The warriors staggered, they scattered and broke,
 In hope their lives to save ;
 When Jambay saw they fled, he spoke,
 And his elephant onward drave.

" Mahoba's champion, Devi's son,
 Now settle thy cause with me ;
 Alive from the field shall go but one,
 So turn by turn strike we."

* This Rajput State seems to retain its fame in the arts to the present day.

'I may not strike, by the Chandel law ;
Do thou strike first, O king :"
Then a good red bow did Jambay draw,
And fitted the notch to string.

The aim was good, the string did twang,
Fast did the arrow fly ;
Across the howda Alha sprang,
And the shaft went whizzing by.

Then his javelin flew, as near they drew,
Now how may Alha bide ?
Queen Sarada's* care at his right hand there
She turned the spear aside.

"Now hear, Banaphar," Jambay spake,
"Twice hast thou foiled my blow ;
In peace thy way to Mahoba take,
For thrice thou 'scap'st not so."

But Alha there his breast made bare,
And did to the Raja cry ;
"No part of a Kshatri's trade it were,
From the battle trench to fly.

"There are homes in heaven stand ready for all,
To-morrow if not to-day ;
And if I in Maro this tide shall fall,
My name shall live for aye.

"One chance is left thee, King, to save,
And see thou miss no more :"
Then drew the King his shining glaive,
And thrice he smote full sore.

No hurt on Alha's body happ'd,
His shield was lifted high ;
At length the sword of Jambay snapp'd,
Then wist he death was nigh.

"I have hewn down elephants with this blade,
And lopped their limbs away ;
Its master's need has it now betrayed,
My life is lost to-day.

* The name given to Durga at Mahoba.

"Now, Raja, now my stroke take thou,"
 And his elephant on he drove ;
 Howda to howda, tusk to tusk,
 Close met the champions strove.

Then Alha forward dash'd his shield,
 With the boss he dealt a blow ;
 The elephant's driver was hurl'd to the field,
 And he waver'd to and fro.

Then Jambay drew his dagger keen,
 Long time their steel they plied ;
 On Alha's body no hurt was seen,
 "Now bind the foe," he cried.

Pachsawad whirl'd his iron chain,
 Dashed the howda to the ground ;
 Soon Alha lighted on the plain,
 And fast his arms he bound.

FYTTE XII.

They sounded the drum of victory,
 And the conqueror's shout they rais'd ;
 They rendered thanks to Rama high,
 And the feet of their Lord they prais'd.

They blessed the virtue of Mallna the Queen,
 And named King Parmal's name ;
 Thus onward Udan's horse, I ween,
 And Alha's elephant came.

On the right band there was Malkhan's mare,
 And Dhewa's courser proud ;
 And on their right side did the Saiyid ride,
 And Ali he shouted loud.

To the house of treasure when Alha came,
 The guards with his sword he killed,
 The locks he broke and the wains did yoke,
 And with stores of price he filled.

A plunder rich from Maro town
 Brought Dasraj's warlike son ;
 And the guns of weight of the metals eight,
 He took them every one.

Horses and elephants spoiled he there,
And every weapon withal ;
Fire he set to the palaces fair,
And blackened the lordly wall.

But when he came to the painted hall,
He stayed beside the gate,
And a messenger sent his mother to call,
And bring from th' encampment straight.

In her litter she left th' acacia wood,
Full hastily did she ride ;
And when at the Lion gate she stood,
The five stepped down beside.

" Now, mother, send," quoth Udan bold,
" And Rani Kushla call : "
Then Kushla's slave her lady told,
As she sat in the painted hall.

" What sleep art sleeping here ? " she cried,
" And sit'st on thy sandal chair ? "
" Alia doth wait beside the gate,
" And bids thee meet him there."

Dismayed was she to hear the same,
Her heart it died away ;
Joining her hands, in haste she came,
And did to Udan say—

" O harm not woman, Udan Ray,
" Though thine the power to-day . "
" I ne'er did smite my foes that fly,
" Nor hand on woman lay.

" But bring my father's turban and crest,
" That have long in Maro lain ;
" And Lakha, too, that dancer best,
" And eke the nine-lakh chain.

" And the litter prepare of Bijma fair,
" With me as a bride to wend : "
Whatever he bade she yielded there,
Until he made an end.

So they moved on to the mill of stone,
 With Devi and the Queen ;
 There did they wait by the inner gate,
 And the litter was set between

But Udan rushed to the fig tree old,
 His father's skull to win ;
 A censer of gold he brought to hold,
 And set the skull therein.

Then Alha and Malkhan the presser plied,
 Yoked in the bullocks' place ;
 Udan beside stood the roller to guide
 Before Queen Kushla's face

And Dhewa too King Jambay threw
 Into the mill to bray ;
 All as he stood they crushed him there,
 Then smote his head away.*

His skull they by 'Dasraj' skull did lay,
 Who laughed a ghastly laugh ;
 "Alha and Udan, blest be they,
 Of Dasraj' line the staff."

Each of his sons by name he blest,
 And the mother that bare them also ;
 "The fire of my breast this day may rest.
 They have venged me upon my foe.

"An evil son will shame his kin,
 An it were seven ages back ;
 But the parents, who a good son win,
 Nor peace nor honour lack.

"My skull, O sons, to Kashi† take,
 The Gaya‡ rites to pay."
 Then out the skull of Jambay spake,
 "Now, Udan, hear my say.

* The murder of Dasraj seems to have been peculiarly atrocious to have provoked this retaliation. It is but fair to mention that in most of the ballads the Banaphars are chivalrous to a degree towards their con-

quered foes, even after meeting with treachery themselves.

† Benares

‡ The capital of Bihar, a famous place of pilgrimage, especially for the funeral rites,

"Of four brave sons the water to pour,
Thou hast not left me one;
My skull then cast on Kashi's shore,
I charge thee, Dasraj' son."

For the litter of Bijma Udan sent,
In the palace hard by to be placed;
A pole he had pight † of the sandal bright,
And he called for a Pandit‡ in haste.

■ "To Bijma fair I my vow will pay,
And the seven rounds § will tread:"
/ "What! are thy senses gone astray,
My brother?" Alha said.

"With the house of our foe, I bid thee know,
No marriage feast I keep;
When she thinks of her father and brethren slain,
She will kill thee in thy sleep.

No, Udan, lady Bijma slay,
And smite her where she stands:"
"O spare me, brother, this I pray,"
He cried with joining hands.

"How can I break my Rajpat's vow
And lift my hand on her?"
"Then smite the Princess, Malkhan, thou
And see thou do not err."

On Mahadeva || Malkhan cried,
His shining sword he drew;
He smote so sore Bijaisin's side,
He cleft her shoulder through."

Then said she, "Udan, once I dream'd
To spend our lives in fere; ¶
And sweet to me e'en death had seemed
Had thy hand made it dear.

"But, cruel Malkhan, woe to thee,
Thy brother's wife hast slain;
So shalt thou die with no brother by,
Unhelped in an open plain."

* In the funeral ceremony.

† Pitched.

‡ A priest learned in the scriptures.

§ An essential part of the marriage ceremony."

|| The great god Shiva.

¶ Together.

But Udan's soul in love was drowned,
 When Bijma's speech heard he ;
 He clasped her hand and raised from ground,
 And rested her on his knee.

" Here must we part ere yet we wed,
 But meeting canst none descry ? "
 " O lay me down, my love, she said,
 " Since I must a maiden die.

" Here it is best my body should rest,
 But my soul new birth shall see ;
 King Narpāt's daughter of Narwar * town,
 And Phulwa my name shall be. •

" And when thou, goodly steeds to buy,
 To the Kabul land shalt ride,
 Our meeting, O love, shall then be nigh
 So Bijma spake and died.

But Udan bare her body fair,
 To Narmada's † holy tide ;
 He cast her into the river there,
 While the troops to the camp did ride.

The litter of Devi they took withal,
 And Lakha the dancer true ;
 And Alha did all his warriors call,
 When they to the woodland drew.

A gay gold ring, a robe, a shawl,
 A crest and turban blue,
 Or a silver fee to some did fall,
 Each had his launders due.

" Friends," cried Alha, " all prepare
 Load the wains each one ;
 Home to Mahoba now we fare
 Alha's work is done."

But Udan turned aside from the crowd,
 At his mother's ~~feet~~ ^{feet} to call ;
 Before the Saiyid old he bowed,
 And eke his brethren all.

* I suppose the town in the Cawn-
 pore district. The doctrine of trans-
 migration must be very useful for

poetical justice.

† The Nerbudda, one of the sacred
 rivers.

